The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi

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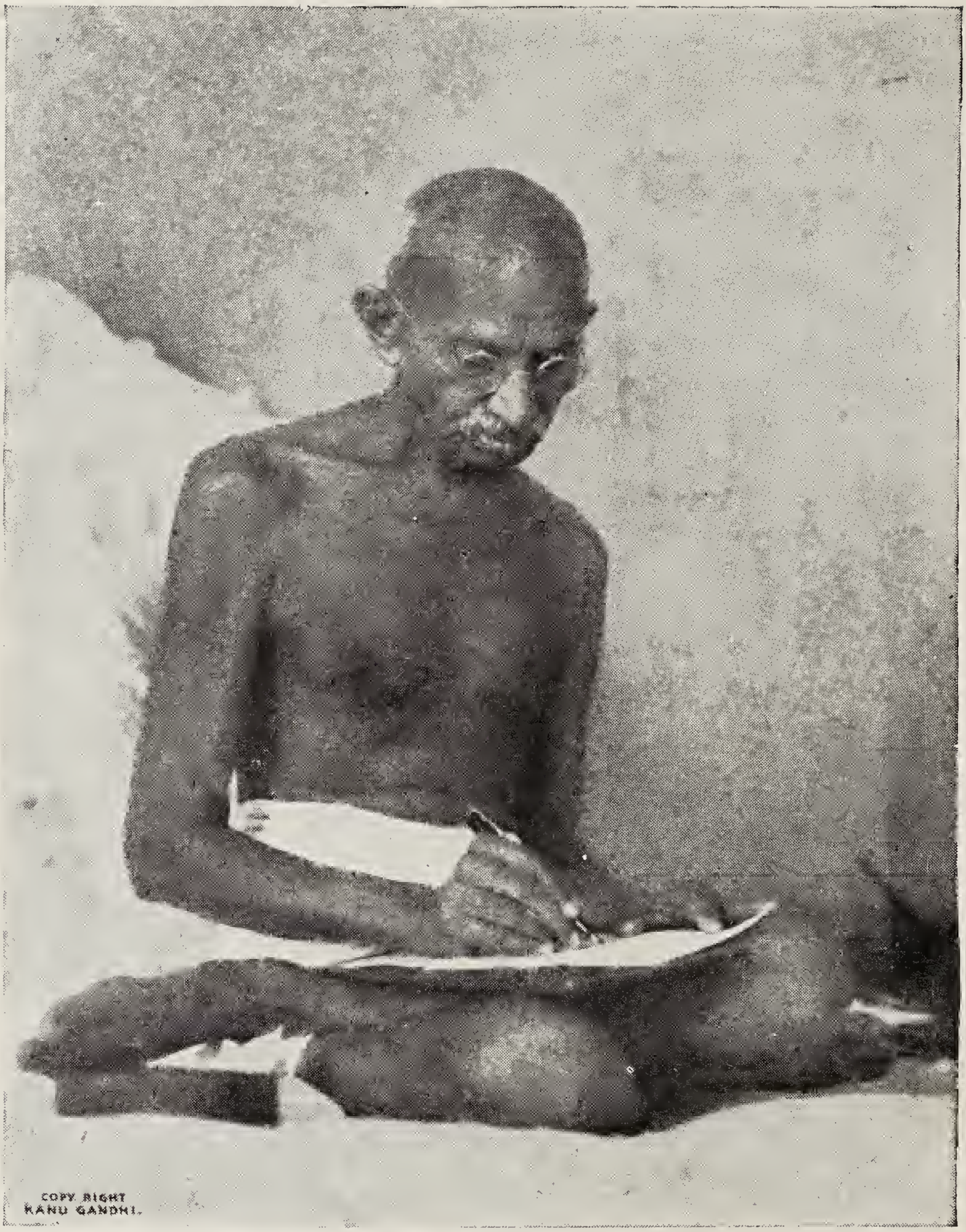
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KANU GANDHI.

By courtesy of the photographer

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI IN MAY 1942

The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi

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R. K. PRABHU & U. R. RAO

With a Foreword by

SIR SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

> Most religious men I have met are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician, am at heart a religious man.—M. K. Gandhi

INDIAN BRANCH

GEOFFREY CUMBERLEGE

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THIS BOOK IS
DEDICATED TO
MAHADEO DESAI
WHO SHOULD
HAVE COMPILED IT

Foreword

Only now and again does there arise above the common level some rare spirit, who, having thought about God more deeply, reflects more clearly the divine purpose and puts into practice more courageously the divine guidance. The light of such shines like a strong beacon on a dark and disordered world. Gandhi belongs to the race of the prophets who have the courage of the heart, the courtesy of the spirit and the laughter of the unafraid. Through his life and teaching, he bears testimony to the values for which this country has stood for ages, faith in spirit, respect for its mysteries, the beauty of holiness, the acceptance of life's obligations, the validity of character, values which are neither national nor international but universal.

There are many who dismiss Gandhi as a professional politician who bungles at critical moments. In one sense politics is a profession and the politician is one trained to transact public business in an efficient manner. There is another sense in which politics is a vocation and the politician is one who is conscious of a mission to save his people and inspire them with faith in God and love of humanity. Such a one may fail in the practical business of government but succeed in filling his fellows with an invincible faith in their common cause. Gandhi is essentially a politician in the second sense. He has firm faith that we can build a world without poverty and unemployment, without wars and bloodshed, if only we get anchored in the world of spirit. He says: 'The world of tomorrow will be, must be, a society based on non-violence. It may seem a distant goal, an unpractical utopia. But it is not in the least unobtainable, since it can be worked from here and now. An individual can adopt the way of life of the future—the non-violent way—without having to wait for others to do so. And if an individual can do it, cannot whole groups of individuals? Whole nations? Men often hesitate to make a beginning because they feel that the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely our greatest obstacle to progress—an obstacle that each man, if he only wills it, can clear away.'[1]

There is a common criticism that Gandhi's vision outsoars his perception, that he proceeds on the comfortable but incorrect assumption that the world consists of saints. This is a misrepresentation of Gandhi's views. He knows that life at best is a long second best, a perpetual compromise between the ideal and the possible. The kingdom of God knows no compromise, no practical limitations. But here on earth there are the pitiless laws of nature. We have to build an ordered cosmos on the basis of human passions. Through effort and difficulty ideals struggle to realization. Though Gandhi feels that non-violence is the ideal of a civilized society, he permits the use of force. 'If one has not the courage, I want him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed, rather than in a cowardly manner flee from danger.'[2] 'The world is not entirely governed by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence and we have to choose the path of least violence.'[3] In the progress of societies three stages are marked, the first where the law of the jungle prevails, where we have violence and selfishness, the second where we have the rule of law and impartial justice with courts, police and prisons, and the third where we have non-violence and unselfishness, where love and law are one. The last is the goal of civilized humanity and it is brought nearer by the life and work of men like Gandhi.

There is so much misunderstanding today about Gandhi's views and ways of thinking. This book, where we find collected together the relevant extracts from Gandhi's own writings on the central principles of his faith and conduct, will help to make Gandhi's position clearer to the modern mind.

Benares S. RADHAKRISHNAN
4 April 1944

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[1] *Liberty*, London, 1931.

[2] *Harijan*, 15 Jan. 1938, p. 418.

[3] *Harijan*, 28 Sept. 1934, p. 259.

Preface

'GANDHI is an enigma.' How often does one hear this said, not only by people who are critical of his utterances and doings, but even by those closely associated with him! This is the more surprising because, for the past fifty years, he has had almost no private life. He is scarcely ever alone, and works, talks, meditates, prays and eats in the company of his followers. When he sleeps, it is in the open air in a dormitory, seldom in a room of his own.

That there have been contradictions in his life Gandhiji has often admitted. Far from excusing himself for them, he has stated, 'I have never made a fetish of consistency. I am a votary of truth and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment on the question, without regard to what I may have said before on it. . . . As my vision gets clearer, my views must grow clearer with daily practice.'[1] He believes that his inconsistencies have been merely apparent. 'There is, I fancy, a method in my inconsistencies,'[2] he has written. Some of his inconsistencies spring from that spirit of compromise which is an inalienable part of his spiritual make-up. 'All my life,' he has remarked, 'the very insistence on truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise.'[3] It is his homage to truth that leads him to recognize the truth in the viewpoints of others. At the same time he holds that there are eternal principles which admit of no compromise and that one must be prepared to lay down one's life in their practice.

The riddle of Gandhiji's mind is the riddle of his soul. *'Le cœur a ses raisons, que la raison ne connaît point.'*[4] His philosophy has to be synthesized from scattered writings and utterances. He has never sat down to write a complete statement of his creed, and the very title of his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth,* shows that he considers himself a mere seeker, ready and anxious to share his experiences with others but claiming no finality for his own conclusions. He is often accused of irresponsibility for the way in which he speaks his mind at times when political expediency would seem to require silence or the expression of some other point of view from a national leader, but his answer to this charge is that it is every man's duty to express the truth as he sees it. If the motive is pure, no harm can result. 'I believe that if, in spite of the best of intentions, one is led into committing mistakes, they do not really result in harm to the world or for the matter of that any individual.'[1]

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[1] *Harijan,* 28 Sept. 1934, p. 260.

[2] *Young India,* 13 Feb. 1930, p. 52.

[3] *The Story of My Experiments with Truth,* Vol. I, p. 346.

[4] Pascal, *Pensées,* iv. 277. 'The heart has its reasons which reason knows nothing of.'

In matters spiritual he claims to apply the method of trial and error, the experimental method of the scientist, and though he may have achieved no finality, yet, like an astronomer who is undeterred by his knowledge of Einstein's Theory of Relativity from stating that the mean distance of the Moon from the Earth is 238,857 miles, Gandhiji has reached a stage, after a life of 'experiments with truth', when his moral judgements are hard and assured. In his universe, he steers by the stars of Truth, Love and Labour. 'Having made a ceaseless effort to attain self-purification,' he says, 'I have developed some little capacity to hear "the still small voice within";'[2] and that inner voice is, for him, Truth, Love and God are interchangeable terms: 'My goal is friendship with the world . . .'[3] 'I refuse to suspect human nature. It will, is bound to, respond to any noble and friendly action.'[4] Lastly he believes 'there can never be too much emphasis placed upon work'.[5] 'If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and leisure for all.'[6] Then, 'our wants would be minimized, our food would be simple.

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[1] *Young India,* 3 Jan. 1929, p. 6.

[2] *The Epic Fast,* p. 34.

[3] *Young India,* 10 Mar. 1920, p. 5.

[4] *Young India,* 4 Aug. 1920, p. 5.

[5] *Harijan,* 2 Nov. 1935, p. 298.

[6] *Harijan,* 29 June 1935, p. 156.

We should then eat to live, not live to eat.'[1] Gandhiji is concerned with the salvation of the individual soul, and for him high thinking is not to be separated from plain living. 'I do want growth, I do want self-determination, I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul.'[2]

It may be of interest to record how this work came to be composed. Over a dozen years ago the idea occurred to one of us of making a systematic collection of the 'eternal verities' expressed by Gandhiji in his writings and speeches and stringing them together so as to bring into relief the philosophical thought behind them, and afford an insight into the Gandhian philosophy of life. A plan of a dozen volumes was drawn up, embodying Gandhiji's thoughts on such subjects as Truth, Non-violence, *Satyagraha,* Love, Faith, Non-possession, Freedom, Fasting, Prayer, *Brahmacharya,* Labour, Machinery, and so on, as well as a separate volume containing the gist of his thoughts on these subjects, and the work of collecting the material was begun. Within a few years the task was found to be so vast that it was necessary to enlist the co-operation of a fellow-worker, and since then both of us have laboured at it without respite. Circumstances intervened during the last two years which obliged us to concentrate our attention on the last volume, the one containing the kernel of Gandhiji's teachings as a whole, and this is what is now presented to the reader, though in a more condensed form than was originally planned.

The proofs of this work were submitted to and read by Gandhiji and we are sincerely thankful to him for his approval of our effort and to the Navajivan Trustees for permission to make use of his writings. We are also thankful to Shri Kanu Gandhi for allowing us to reproduce in this work one of his photographs of Gandhiji.

R. K. P.
U. R. R.

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[1] ibid.

[2] *Young India,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 325.

Contents

PAGE

1. NEITHER SAINT NOR SINNER 1
2. MY MAHATMASHIP 8
3. I KNOW THE PATH 14
4. THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH 20
5. TRUTH IS GOD 25
6. PRAYER THE FOOD OF MY SOUL 33
7. THE INNER VOICE 38
8. TRUTH AND BEAUTY 42
9. MY INCONSISTENCIES 45
10. THE GOSPEL OF NON-VIOLENCE 47
11. ALL LIFE IS ONE 58
12. NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR 62
13. THE GOSPEL OF SATYAGRAHA 72
14. THE GOSPEL OF LOVE 82
15. THE GOSPEL OF FAITH 91
16. MY HINDUISM IS NOT EXCLUSIVE 99
17. THE CURSE OF UNTOUCHABILITY 107
18. TEMPLES AND IDOLATRY 110
19. MY FASTS 113

20. THE GOSPEL OF FEARLESSNESS 115
21. THE GOSPEL OF NON-POSSESSION 117
22. THE GOSPEL OF BRAHMACHARYA 123
23. BIRTH-CONTROL 126
24. WOMAN NOT THE WEAKER SEX 129
25. THE GOSPEL OF LABOUR 132
26. CLASS WAR 136
27. MAN v. MACHINE 140
28. THIS SATANIC CIVILIZATION 146
29. COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM 148
30. THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM 153
31. NATIONALISM v. INTERNATIONALISM 157
32. WHAT SWARAJ MEANS TO ME 163
33. INDIA'S MISSION 168
34. I AM NOT ANTI-BRITISH 175
35. THE ASHRAM VOWS 177
36. OBITER DICTA 186
CHRONOLOGY 203
GLOSSARY 211
SOURCES 216

1. Neither Saint nor Sinner

I THINK that the word 'saint' should be ruled out of present life. It is too sacred a word to be lightly applied to anybody, much less to one like myself, who claims only to be a humble searcher after Truth, knows his limitations, makes mistakes, never hesitates to admit them when he makes them and frankly confesses that he, like a scientist, is making experiments about some 'of the eternal verities' of life, but cannot even claim to be a scientist because he can show no tangible proof of scientific accuracy in his methods or such tangible results of his experiments as modern science demands.

TO CLOTHE me with sainthood is too early even if it is possible. I myself do not feel a saint in any shape or form. But I do feel I am a votary of Truth in spite of all my errors of unconscious omission and commission.

I AM NOT a 'statesman in the garb of a saint'. But since Truth is the highest wisdom, sometimes my acts appear to be consistent with the highest statesmanship. But, I hope I have no policy in me save the policy of Truth and *ahimsa*. I will not sacrifice Truth and *ahimsa* even for the deliverance of my country or religion. That is as much as to say that neither can be so delivered.

I SEE neither contradiction nor insanity in my life. It is true that as a man cannot see his back, so can he not see his errors or insanity. But the sages have often likened a man of religion to a lunatic. I, therefore, hug the belief that I may not be insane and may be truly religious. Which of the two I am in truth can only be decided after my death.

I HAVE never described myself as a *sannyasi. Sannyas* is made of sterner stuff. I regard myself as a householder, leading a humble life of service and in common with my fellow workers, living upon the charity of friends....The life I am living is entirely very easy and very comfortable, if ease and comfort are a mental state. I have all I need without the slightest care of having to keep any personal treasures.

IT IS wrong to call me an ascetic. The ideals that regulate my life are presented for acceptance by mankind in general. I have arrived at them by gradual evolution. Every step was thought out, well considered, and taken with greatest deliberation. Both my continence and non-violence were derived from personal experience and became necessary in response to the calls of public duty. The isolated life I had to lead in South Africa whether as a householder, legal practitioner, social reformer or politician, required for the due fulfilment of these duties, the strictest regulation of sexual life and a rigid practice of non-violence and truth in human relations, whether with my own countrymen or with Europeans. I claim to be no more than an average man with less than average ability. Nor can I claim any special merit for such non-violence or continence as I have been able to reach with laborious research. I have not the shadow of a doubt that any man or woman can achieve what I have, if he or she would make the same effort and cultivate the same hope and faith. Work without faith is like an attempt to reach the bottom of a bottomless pit.

I CAN easily put up with the denial of the world, but any denial by me of my God is unthinkable.

I CLAIM to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough in me to confess my errors and to retrace my steps. I own that I have an immovable faith in God and His goodness and unconsumable passion for truth and love. But, is that not what every person has latent in him?

WHENEVER I see an erring man, I say to myself I have also erred; when I see a lustful man I say to myself, so was I once; and in this way I feel kinship with every one in the world and feel that I cannot be happy without the humblest of us being happy.

I SHALL have to answer my God and my Maker if I give any one less than his due, but I am sure that He will bless me if He knows that I gave one more than his due.

THE HEART'S earnest and pure desire is always fulfilled. In my own experience, I have often seen this rule being verified. Service of the poor has been my heart's desire, and it has always thrown me amongst the poor, and enabled me to identify myself with them.

MINE IS a life full of joy in the midst of incessant work. In not wanting to think of what to-morrow will bring for me I feel as free as a bird. . . . The thought that I am ceaselessly and honestly struggling against the requirements of the flesh sustains me.

FATES DECIDE my undertakings for me. I never go to seek them. They come to me almost in spite of me. That has been my lot all my life long, in South Africa as well as ever since my return to India.

I AM too conscious of the imperfections of the species to which I belong to be irritated against any member thereof. My remedy is to deal with the wrong wherever I see it, not to hurt the wrong-doer, even as I would not like to be hurt for the wrongs I continually do.

Differences of opinion should never mean hostility. If they did, my wife and I should be sworn enemies of one another. I do not know two persons in the world who had no difference of opinion, and as I am a follower of the *Gita,* I have always attempted to regard those who differ from me with the same affection as I have for my nearest and dearest.

It is to me a matter of perennial satisfaction that I retain generally the affection and trust of those whose principles and policies I oppose. The South Africans gave me personally their confidence and extended their friendship. In spite of my denunciation of British policy and system I enjoy the affection of thousands of Englishmen and women, and in spite of unqualified condemnation of modern materialistic civilization, the circle of European and American friends is ever widening. It is again a triumph of non-violence.

I implicitly believe in the truth of the saying that not a blade of grass moves but by His will. He will save it [my life] if He needs it for further service in this body. None can save it against His will.

I claim to be a votary of truth from my childhood. It was the most natural thing to me. My prayerful search gave me the revealing maxim *Truth is God,* instead of the usual one *God is Truth.* That maxim enables me to see God face to face as it were. I feel Him pervade every fibre of my being.

My life has been an open book. I have no secrets and I encourage no secrets.

I am used to misrepresentation all my life. It is the lot of every public worker. He has to have a tough hide. Life would be burdensome if every misrepresentation had to be answered and cleared. It is a rule of life with me never to explain misrepresentations except when the cause requires correction. This rule has saved much time and worry.

I HAVE been known as a crank, faddist, mad man. Evidently the reputation is well deserved. For wherever I go, I draw to myself cranks, faddists and mad men.

I AM, indeed, a practical dreamer. My dreams are not airy nothings. I want to convert my dreams into realities as far as possible.

I KNOW that I have still before me a difficult path to traverse. I must reduce myself to zero. So long as one does not of his own free will put himself last among his fellow-creatures, there is no salvation for him. *Ahimsa* is the farthest limit of humility.

IT SEEMS to me that I understand the ideal of truth better than that of *ahimsa*, and my experience tells me that if I let go my hold of truth, I shall never be able to solve the riddle of *ahimsa*.....In other words, perhaps, I have not the courage to follow the straight course. Both at bottom mean one and the same thing, for doubt is invariably the result of want or weakness of faith. 'Lord, give me faith' is, therefore, my prayer day and night.

I REMAIN an optimist, not that there is any evidence that I can give that right is going to prosper, but because of my unflinching faith that right must prosper in the end....Our inspiration can come only from our faith that right must ultimately prevail.

THERE ARE limits to the capacity of an individual, and the moment he flatters himself that he can undertake all tasks, God is there to humble his pride. For myself, I am gifted with enough humility to look even to babes and sucklings for help.

A DROP in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up as soon as it enters upon an existence independent of the ocean. We do not exaggerate when we say that life is a mere bubble.

A SEEKER after truth cannot afford to be an egotist. One who would sacrifice his life for others has hardly time to reserve for himself a place in the sun.

IF WE could erase the 'I's' and 'Mine's' from religion, politics, economics, etc., we shall soon be free and bring heaven upon earth.

IT IS curious how we delude ourselves. We fancy that one can make the perishable body impregnable and we think it impossible to evoke the hidden powers of the soul. Well, I am engaged in trying to show, if I have any of these powers, that I am as frail a mortal as any of us and that I never had anything extraordinary about me nor have any now.

I HAVE made the frankest admission of my many sins. But I do not carry their burden on my shoulders. If I am journeying Godward, as I feel I am, it is safe with me. For I feel the warmth of the sunshine of His presence. My austerities, fastings and prayers are, I know, of no value, if I rely upon them for reforming me. But they have an inestimable value, if they represent, as I hope they do, the yearnings of a soul striving to lay his weary head in the lap of his Maker.

I ADMIT my limitations. I have no university education worth the name. My high school career was never above the average. I was thankful if I could pass my examinations. Distinction in the school was beyond my aspiration.

DURING THE days of my education I had read practically nothing outside textbooks, and after I launched into active life I had very little time left me for reading. I cannot, therefore, claim much book knowledge. However, I believe I have not lost much because of this enforced restraint. On the contrary, the limited reading may be said to have enabled me thoroughly to digest what I did read. Of these books, the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was *Unto This Last*. I translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it *Sarvodaya* (the welfare of all). I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is why it so captivated me and made me transform my life.

I WAS living in South Africa then. It was the reading of *Unto This Last* on a railway journey to Durban in 1904 when I was thirty-five that made me decide to change my whole outward life. There is no other word for it, Ruskin's words captivated me. I read the book in one go and lay awake all the following night, and I there and then decided to change my whole plan of life. Tolstoy I had read much earlier. He affected the inner being.

2. My Mahatmaship

TRUTH TO me is infinitely dearer than the Mahatmaship, which is purely a burden. It is my knowledge of my limitations and my nothingness which has so far saved me from the oppressiveness of the Mahatmaship.

OFTEN the title has deeply pained me; and there is not a moment I can recall when it may be said to have tickled me.

I DO not feel like being one [a Mahatma]. But I do know that I am among the humblest of God's creatures.

MY MAHATMASHIP is worthless. It is due to my outward activities, due to my politics which is the least part of me and is, therefore, evanescent. What is of abiding worth is my insistence on truth, non-violence and *brahmacharya* which is the real part of me. That part of me, however small, is not to be despised. It is my all. I prize even the failures and disillusionments which are but steps towards success.

I HOLD it to be a blasphemy to represent me as Shri Krishna. I claim to be a humble worker and no more among many in a great cause, which can only be injured rather than advanced by glorification of its leaders. A cause has the best chance of success, when it is examined and followed on its own merits. Measures must always, in a progressive society, be held superior to men, who are after all imperfect instruments, working for their fulfilment.

I HAVE become literally sick of the adoration of the unthinking multitude. I would feel certain of my ground, if I was spat upon by them. Then there would be no need for confession of Himalayan and other miscalculations, no retracing, no re-arranging.

THE WORLD knows so little of how much my so-called greatness depends upon the incessant toil and drudgery of silent, devoted, able and pure workers, men as well as women.

THE HIGHEST honour that my friends can do me is to enforce in their own lives the programme that I stand for or to resist me to their utmost if they do not believe in it.

I LAY claim to nothing exclusively divine in me. I do not claim prophetship. I am but a humble seeker after Truth and bent upon finding it. I count no sacrifice too great for the sake of seeing God face to face. The whole of my activity, whether it may be called social, political, humanitarian or ethical, is directed to that end. And as I know that God is found more often in the lowliest of His creatures than in the high and mighty, I am struggling to reach the status of these. I cannot do so without their service. Hence my passion for the service of the suppressed classes. And as I cannot render this service without entering politics, I find myself in them. Thus I am no master. I am but a struggling, erring, humble servant of India and therethrough of humanity.

I AM conscious of my own limitations. That consciousness is my only strength. Whatever I might have been able to do in my life has proceeded more than anything else out of the realization of my own limitations.

I HAVE no desire for prestige anywhere. It is furniture required in courts of kings. I am a servant of Mussalmans, Christians, Parsis and Jews as I am of Hindus.

And a servant is in need of love, not prestige. That is assured to me so long as I remain a faithful servant.

IN THE majority of cases addresses presented to me contain adjectives which I am ill able to carry. Their use can do good neither to the writers nor to me. They unnecessarily humiliate me, for I have to confess that I do not deserve them. When they are deserved, their use is superfluous. It cannot add to the strength of the qualities possessed by me. They may, if I am not on my guard, easily turn my head. The good that a man does is more often than not better left unsaid. Imitation is the sincerest flattery.

I AM not aching for martyrdom, but if it comes in my way in the prosecution of what I consider to be the supreme duty in defence of the faith I hold . . . I shall have earned it.

ASSAULTS have been made on my life in the past, but God has spared me till now, and the assailants have repented for their action. But if someone were to shoot me in the belief that he was getting rid of a rascal, he would kill not the real Gandhi, but the one that appeared to him a rascal.

IF I had no sense of humour, I should long ago have committed suicide.

THERE ARE certain things which you cannot escape all at once, even whilst you are avoiding them. This earthly case in which I am locked up is the bane of my life, but I am obliged to put up with it and even indulge it.

I HOPE there is no pride in me. I feel I recognize fully my weakness. But my faith in God and His strength and love is unshakable. I am like clay in the Potter's hands.

I SHALL continue to confess blunders each time the people commit them. The only tyrant I accept in this world is the 'still small voice' within me. And even though I have to face the prospect of a minority of one, I humbly believe I have the courage to be in such a hopeless minority.

I CAN truthfully say that I am slow to see the blemishes of fellow beings, being myself full of them and, therefore, being in need of their charity, I have learnt not to judge any one harshly and to make allowances for defects that I may detect.

THE ONLY virtue I want to claim is Truth and Non-violence. I lay no claim to superhuman powers. I want none. I wear the same corruptible flesh that the weakest of my fellow-beings wears, and am, therefore, as liable to err as any. My services have many limitations, but God has up to now blessed them in spite of the imperfections.

I CONSIDER myself to be a sagacious worker and my sagacity means no more and no less than a fine perception of my limitations. I hope I never travel beyond my limits. Certainly I have never done so consciously.

WHILST I prize the unbounded affection of the people, let them realize that my life is not worth keeping if anxiety to save it deflects the attention of the nation from the main purpose.

I CLAIM to be a fairly accurate student of human nature and vivisector of my own failings. I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds.

I AM an irrepressible optimist, because I believe in myself. That sounds very arrogant, doesn't it? But I say it from the depths of my humility. I believe in the supreme power of God. I believe in Truth and, therefore, I have no doubt in the future of this country or the future of humanity.

I AM an optimist because I expect many things from myself. I have not got them I know, as I am not yet a perfect being. If I was one, I should not even need to reason with you. When I am a perfect being, I have simply to say the word and the nation will listen. I want to attain that perfection by service.

IN THE midst of humiliation and so-called defeat and a tempestuous life, I am able to retain my peace, because of an underlying faith in God, translated as Truth. We can describe God as millions of things, but I have for myself adopted the formula—*Truth is God.*

MY LIFE is an indivisible whole, and all my activities run into one another; and they all have their rise in my insatiable love of mankind.

I HAVE often been charged with having an unyielding nature. I have been told that I would not bow to the decisions of the majority. I have been accused of being autocratic....I have never been able to subscribe to the charge of obstinacy or autocracy. On the contrary, I pride myself on my yielding nature in non-vital matters. I detest autocracy. Valuing my freedom and independence I equally cherish them for others. I have no desire to carry a single soul with me, if I cannot appeal to his or her reason. My unconventionality I carry to the point of rejecting the divinity of the oldest Shastras if they cannot convince my reason. But I have found by experience that, if I wish to live in society and still retain my independence, I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first-rate importance. In all others which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code, one must yield to the majority.

I HAVE learnt through bitter experience the one supreme lesson to conserve my anger, and as heat conserved is transmuted into energy, even so our anger controlled can be transmuted into a power which can move the world.

IT IS not that I do not get angry. I don't give vent to anger. I cultivate the quality of patience as angerlessness, and generally speaking I succeed. But I only control my anger when it comes. How I find it possible to control it would be a useless question, for it is a habit that everyone must cultivate and must succeed in forming by constant practice.

I SPARE neither friend nor foe, when it is a question of departing from the code of honour.

I HATE privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo to me.

I HAVE always had a love for the poor all my life and in abundance. I could cite illustrations after illustrations from my past life that it was something innate in me. I have never felt that there was any difference between the poor and me. I have always felt towards them as my own kith and kin.

MY LOIN CLOTH is an organic evolution in my life. It came naturally, without effort, without premeditation.

IT WOULD be impossible for any person to point to a single act of mine during the past fifty years which could be proved to have been antagonistic to any person or community. I have never believed anyone to be my enemy. My faith demands that I should consider no one as such. I may not wish ill to anything that lives.

My philosophy, if I can be said to have any, excludes the possibility of harm to one's cause by outside agencies. The harm comes deservedly and only when the cause itself is bad or, being good, its champions are untrue, faint-hearted or unclean.

Somehow I am able to draw the noblest in mankind, and that is what enables me to maintain my faith in God and human nature.

If I was what I want to be I would not then need to argue with anyone. My word would go straight home. Indeed I would not even need to utter the word. The mere will on my part would suffice to produce the required effect. But I am painfully aware of my limitations.

3. I Know the Path

I know the path. It is strait and narrow. It is like the edge of a sword. I rejoice to walk on it. I weep when I slip. God's word is: 'He who strives never perishes.' I have implicit faith in that promise. Though, therefore, from my weakness I fail a thousand times, I will not lose faith but hope that I shall see the Light when the flesh has been brought under perfect subjection as some day it must.

My soul refuses to be satisfied so long as it is a helpless witness of a single wrong or a single misery. But it is not possible for me, a weak, frail, miserable being, to mend every wrong or to hold myself free of blame for all the wrong I see. The spirit in me pulls one way, the flesh in me pulls in the opposite direction. There is freedom from the action of these two forces, but that freedom is attainable only by slow and painful stages. I cannot attain freedom by a mechanical refusal to act, but only by intelligent action in a detached manner. This struggle resolves itself into an incessant crucifixion of the flesh so that the spirit may become entirely free.

I AM but a seeker after Truth. I claim to have found a way to it. I claim to be making a ceaseless effort to find it. But I admit that I have not yet found it. To find Truth completely is to realize oneself and one's destiny, i.e. to become perfect. I am painfully conscious of my imperfections, and therein lies all the strength I possess, because it is a rare thing for a man to know his own limitations.

IF I was a perfect man, I own I should not feel the miseries of neighbours as I do. As a perfect man I should take note of them, prescribe a remedy, and compel adoption by the force of unchallengeable Truth in me. But as yet I only see as through a glass darkly and therefore have to carry conviction by slow and laborious processes, and then, too, not always with success. That being so, I would be less than human if, with all my knowledge of avoidable misery pervading the land and of the sight of mere skeletons under the very shadow of the Lord of the Universe, I did not feel with and for all the suffering but dumb millions of India.

DEFEAT CANNOT dishearten me. It can only chasten me. I know that God will guide me. Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

I AM in the world feeling my way to light 'amid the encircling gloom'. I often err and miscalculate....My trust is solely in God. And I trust men only because I trust God. If I had no God to rely upon, I should be like Timon, a hater of my species.

I HAVE no secret methods. I know no diplomacy save that of truth. I have no weapon but non-violence. I may be unconsciously led astray for a while, but not for all time.

I DO not want to foresee the future. I am concerned with taking care of the present. God has given me no control over the moment following....It is true that I have often been let down. Many have deceived me and many have been found wanting. But I do not repent of my association with them. For I know how to non-cooperate, as I know how to cooperate. The most practical, the most dignified way of going on in the world is to take people at their word, when you have no positive reason to the contrary.

To MY knowledge, throughout my public and private career, I have never broken a promise.

A BREACH of promise shakes me to my root, especially when I am in any way connected with the author of the breach. And if it cost my life, which after all at the age of seventy has no insurance value, I should most willingly give it in order to secure due performance of a sacred and solemn promise.

I AM but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good—wholly truthful and wholly non-violent in thought, word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. It is a painful climb, but the pain of it is a positive pleasure to me. Each step upward makes me feel stronger and fit for the next.

When I think of my littleness and my limitations on the one hand and of the expectations raised about me on the other, I become dazed for the moment, but I come to myself as soon as I realize that these expectations are a tribute not to me, a curious mixture of Jekyll and Hyde, but to the incarnation, however imperfect but comparatively great in me, of the two priceless qualities of truth and non-violence. I must, therefore, not shirk the responsibility of giving what aid I can to fellow-seekers after truth from the West.

I claim to have no infallible guidance or inspiration. So far as my experience goes, the claim to infallibility on the part of a human being would be untenable, seeing that inspiration too can come only to one who is free from the action of opposites, and it will be difficult to judge on a given occasion whether the claim to freedom from pairs of opposites is justified. The claim to infallibility would thus always be a most dangerous claim to make. This, however, does not leave us without any guidance whatsoever. The sum-total of the experience of the sages of the world is available to us and would be for all time to come. Moreover, there are not many fundamental truths, but there is only one fundamental truth which is Truth itself, otherwise known as Non-violence. Finite human being shall never know in its fulness Truth and Love which is in itself infinite. But we do know enough for our guidance. We shall err, and sometimes grievously, in our application. But man is a self-governing being, and self-government necessarily includes the power as much to commit errors as to set them right as often as they are made.

I have never lost my optimism. In seemingly darkest hours hope has burnt bright within me. I cannot kill the hope myself. I must say I cannot give an ocular demonstration to justify the hope. But there is no defeat in me.

I WILL not be a traitor to God to please the whole world.

I AM content with the doing of the task in front of me. I do not worry about the why and wherefore of things. Reason helps us to see that we should not dabble in things we cannot fathom.

IT WILL be time enough to pronounce a verdict upon my work after my eyes are closed and this tabernacle is consigned to the flames.

IT IS a bad carpenter who quarrels with his tools. It is a bad general who blames his men for faulty workmanship. I know I am not a bad general. I have wisdom enough to know my limitations. God will give me strength enough to declare my bankruptcy if such is to be my lot. He will perhaps take me away when I am no longer wanted for the work which I have been permitted to do for nearly half a century. But I do entertain the hope that there is yet work for me to do, that the darkness that seems to have enveloped me will disappear, and that, whether with another battle more brilliant than the Dandi March or without, India will come to her own demonstrably through non-violent means. I am praying for the light that will dispel the darkness. Let those who have a living faith in non-violence join me in the prayer.

IT HAS been my misfortune or good fortune to take the world by surprise. New experiments in new style must sometimes engender misunderstanding.

I DENY being a visionary. I do not accept the claim of saintliness. I am of the earth, earthy...I am prone to as many weaknesses as you are. But I have seen the world. I have lived in the world with my eyes open. I have gone through the most fiery ordeals that have fallen to the lot of man. I have gone through this discipline.

I AM asking my countrymen in India to follow no other gospel than the gospel of self-sacrifice which precedes every battle. Whether you belong to the school of violence or non-violence, you will have to go through the fire of sacrifice and of discipline.

AS FOR my leadership, if I have it, it has not come for any seeking, it is a print of faithful service. A man can as little discard such leadership as he can the colour of his skin. And since I have become an integral part of the nation, it has to keep me with all my faults and shortcomings, of some of which I am painfully conscious and of many others of which candid critics, thanks be to them, never fail to remind me.

I WANT to declare to the world that, whatever may be said to the contrary, and although I might have forfeited the regard and even the trust of many in the West—and I bow my head low—but even for their friendship or their love, I must not suppress the voice within—call it conscience, call it the prompting of my inner basic nature. There is something within me impelling me to cry out my agony. I have known exactly what it is. That something in me which never deceives me tells me now: 'You have to stand against the whole world although you may have to stand alone. You have to stare the world in the face although the world may look at you with blood-shot eyes. Do not fear. Trust that little thing in you which resides in the heart and says: Forsake friends, wife, all; but testify to that for which you have lived and for which you have to die.'

4. The Gospel of Truth

WHAT...is Truth? A difficult question; but I have solved it for myself by saying that it is what the voice within tells you. How then, you ask, different people think of different and contrary truths? Well, seeing that the human mind works through innumerable media and that the evolution of the human mind is not the same for all, it follows that what may be truth for one may be untruth for another, and hence those who have made these experiments have come to the conclusion that there are certain conditions to be observed in making those experiments....It is because we have at the present moment everybody claiming the right of conscience without going through any discipline whatsoever, there is so much untruth being delivered to a bewildered world. All that I can in true humility present to you is that Truth is not to be found by anybody who has not got an abundant sense of humility. If you would swim on the bosom of the ocean of Truth you must reduce yourself to a zero.

FOR ME Truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This Truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. I have not yet found Him, but I am seeking after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life I hope I may be prepared to give it. But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must, meanwhile, be my beacon, my shield and buckler. Though this path is strait and narrow and sharp as the razor's edge, for me it has been the quickest and easiest. Even my Himalayan blunders have seemed trifling to me because I have kept strictly to this path. For the path has saved me from coming to grief, and I have gone forward according to my light. Often in my progress I have had faint glimpses of the Absolute Truth, God, and daily the conviction is growing upon me that He alone is real and all else is unreal....The further conviction has been growing upon me that whatever is possible for me is possible even for a child, and I have found sound reasons for saying so. The instruments for the quest of Truth are as simple as they are difficult. They may appear quite impossible to an arrogant person, and quite possible to an innocent child. The seeker after Truth should be humbler than the dust. The world crushes the dust under its feet, but the seeker after Truth should so humble himself that even the dust could crush him. Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of Truth.

LET HUNDREDS like me perish, but let Truth prevail. Let us not reduce the standard of Truth even by a hair's breadth for judging erring mortals like myself.

IN JUDGING myself I should try to be as harsh as truth, as I want others also to be. Measuring myself by that standard I must exclaim with Surdas,

> Where is there a wretch
> So wicked and loathsome as I?
> I have forsaken my Maker,
> So faithless have I been.

For it is an unbroken torture to me that I am still so far from Him, who, as I fully know, governs every breath of my life, and whose offspring I am. I know that it is the evil passions within that keep me so far from Him, and yet I cannot get away from them.

I am nothing but a mere lump of earth in the hands of the Potter. Truth and Love—*ahimsa*—is the only thing that counts. Where this is present, everything rights itself in the end. This is a law to which there is no exception.

My uniform experience has convinced me that there is no other God than Truth....The little fleeting glimpses ...that I have been able to have of Truth can hardly convey an idea of the indescribable lustre of Truth, a million times more intense than that of the sun we daily see with our eyes. In fact, what I have caught is only the faintest glimmer of that mighty effulgence. But this much I can say with assurance as a result of all my experiments, that a perfect vision of Truth can only follow a complete realization of *ahimsa*.

To see the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself. And a man who aspires after that cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. That is why my devotion to Truth has drawn me into the field of politics; and I can say without the slightest hesitation, and yet in all humility, that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means.

It is not given to man to know the whole Truth. His duty lies in living up to the truth as he sees it, and in doing so, to resort to the purest means, i.e. to non-violence.

TRUTH RESIDES in every human heart, and one has to search for it there, and to be guided by truth as one sees it. But no one has a right to coerce others to act according to his own view of truth.

LIFE IS an aspiration. Its mission is to strive after perfection, which is self-realization. The ideal must not be lowered because of our weaknesses or imperfections. I am painfully conscious of both in me. The silent cry daily goes out to Truth to help me to remove these weaknesses and imperfections of mine.

I HAVE in my life never been guilty of saying things I did not mean—my nature is to go straight to the heart and if often I fail in doing so for the time being, I know that Truth will ultimately make itself heard and felt, as it has often done in my experience.

I AM a humble but very earnest seeker after Truth. And in my search, I take all fellow-seekers in uttermost confidence so that I may know my mistakes and correct them. I confess that I have often erred in my estimates and judgements....And inasmuch as in every case I retraced my steps, no permanent harm was done. On the contrary, the fundamental truth of non-violence has been made infinitely more manifest than it ever has been, and the country has in no way been permanently injured.

I AM a learner myself, I have no axe to grind, and wherever I see a truth, I take it up and try to act up to it.

I BELIEVE that if in spite of the best of intentions one is led into committing mistakes, they do not really result in harm to the world or for the matter of that any individual. God always saves the world from the consequences of unintended errors of men who live in fear of Him. Those who are likely to be misled by my example would have gone that way all the same even if they had not known of my action. For in the final analysis a man is guided in his conduct by his own inner promptings, though the example of others might sometimes *seem* to guide him. But be it as it may, I know that the world has never had to suffer on account of my errors because they were all due to my ignorance. It is my firm belief that not one of my known errors was wilful.

INDEED, WHAT may appear to be an obvious error to one may appear to another as pure wisdom. He cannot help himself even if he is under a hallucination. Truly as Tulsidas said: 'Even though there never is silver in mother o' pearl nor water in the sunbeams, while the illusion of silver in the shining shell or that of water in the beam lasts, no power on earth can shake the deluded man free from the spell.' Even so must it be with men like me who, it may be, are labouring under a great hallucination. Surely God will pardon them and the world should bear with them. Truth will assert itself in the end.

THERE CAN be no room for untruth in my writings, because it is my unshakable belief that there is no religion other than truth and because I am capable of rejecting aught obtained at the cost of truth. My writings cannot but be free from hatred towards any individual because it is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith...that we can conquer the whole world by truth and love.

5. Truth is God

THERE IS an indefinable mysterious Power that pervades everything. I feel it, though I do not see it. It is this unseen Power which makes itself felt and yet defies all proof, because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses. It transcends the senses. But it is possible to reason out the existence of God to a limited extent.

I DO dimly perceive that whilst everything around me is ever-changing, ever-dying, there is underlying all that change a Living Power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves, and re-creates. That informing Power or Spirit is God. And since nothing else I see merely through the senses can or will persist, He alone is.

AND IS this Power benevolent or malevolent? I see it as purely benevolent. For I can see that in the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme Good.

I CONFESS...that I have no argument to convince... through reason. Faith transcends reason. All I can advise...is not to attempt the impossible. I cannot account for the existence of evil by any rational method. To want to do so is to be co-equal with God. I am, therefore, humble enough to recognize evil as such; and I call God long-suffering and patient precisely because He permits evil in the world. I know that He has no evil in Him and yet if there is evil, He is the author of it and yet untouched by it.

I KNOW, too, that I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil even at the cost of life itself. I am fortified in the belief by my own humble and limited experience. The purer I try to become the nearer to God I feel myself to be. How much more should I be near to Him when my faith is not a mere apology, as it is today, but has become as immovable as the Himalayas and as white and bright as the snows on their peaks?

THIS BELIEF in God has to be based on faith which transcends reason. Indeed, even the so-called realization has at bottom an element of faith without which it cannot be sustained. In the very nature of things it must be so. Who can transgress the limitations of his being? I hold that complete realization is impossible in this embodied life. Nor is it necessary. A living immovable faith is all that is required for reaching the full spiritual height attainable by human beings. God is not outside this earthly case of ours. Therefore, exterior proof is not of much avail, if any at all. We must ever fail to perceive Him through the senses, because He is beyond them. We can feel Him, if we will but withdraw ourselves from the senses. The divine music is incessantly going on within ourselves, but the loud senses drown the delicate music, which is unlike and infinitely superior to anything we can perceive or hear with our senses.

I BELIEVE that we can all become messengers of God, if we cease to fear man and seek only God's Truth. I do believe I am seeking only God's Truth and have lost all fear of man.

I HAVE no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals Himself daily to every human being, but we shut our ears to the 'still small voice'. We shut our eyes to the 'pillar of fire' in front of us. I *realize* His omnipresence.

I WANT to see God face to face. God I *know* is Truth. For *me* the only certain means of knowing God is Non-violence—*ahimsa*—Love.

I HAVE no God to serve but Truth.

I AM devoted to none but Truth and I owe no discipline to anybody but Truth.

I MAY be a despicable person, but when Truth speaks through me I am invincible.

I KNOW that I can do nothing. God can do everything. O God, make me Thy fit instrument and use me as Thou wilt!

To ME God is Truth and Love; God is ethics and morality; God is fearlessness. God is the source of Light and Life and yet He is above and beyond all these. God is conscience. He is even the atheism of the atheist. For in His boundless love God permits the atheist to live. He is the searcher of hearts. He transcends speech and reason. He knows us and our hearts better than we do ourselves. He does not take us at our word, for He knows that we often do not mean it, some knowingly and others unknowingly. He is a personal God to those who need His personal presence. He is embodied to those who need His touch. He is the purest essence. He simply *is* to those who have faith. He is all things to all men. He is in us and yet above and beyond us. He cannot cease to be because hideous immoralities or inhuman brutalities are committed in His name. He is long-suffering. He is patient but He is also terrible. He is the most exacting personage in the world and the world to come. He metes out the same measure to us that we mete out to our neighbours—men and brutes. With Him ignorance is no excuse. And withal He is ever forgiving for He always gives us the chance to repent. He is the greatest democrat the world knows, for He leaves us 'unfettered' to make our own choice between evil and good. He is the greatest tyrant ever known, for He often dashes the cup from our lips and under the cover of free will leaves us a margin so wholly inadequate as to provide only mirth for Himself at our expense. Therefore it is that Hinduism calls it all His sport—*lila,* or calls it all an illusion—*maya..* We are *not,* He alone *Is.* And if we will be, we must eternally sing His praise and do His will. Let us dance to the tune of His *bansi*—lute, and all would be well.

If I did not feel the presence of God within me, I see so much of misery and disappointment every day that I would be a raving maniac and my destination would be the Hooghli.

I am endeavouring to see God through service of humanity, for I know that God is neither in heaven, nor down below, but in every one.

I have not seen Him, neither have I known Him. I have made the world's faith in God my own and as my faith is ineffaceable, I regard that faith as amounting to experience. However, as it may be said that to describe faith as experience is to tamper with truth, it may perhaps be more correct to say that I have no word for characterizing my belief in God.

I must go...with God as my only guide. He is a jealous Lord. He will allow no one to share His authority. One has, therefore, to appear before Him in all one's weakness, empty-handed and in a spirit of full surrender, and then He enables you to stand before a whole world and protects you from all harm.

God is the hardest taskmaster I have known on this earth, and He tries you through and through. And when you find that your faith is failing or your body is failing you, and you are sinking, He comes to your assistance somehow or other and proves to you that you must not lose your faith and that He is always at your beck and call, but on His terms, not on your terms. So I have found. I cannot really recall a single instance when, at the eleventh hour, He has forsaken me.

In my early youth I was taught to repeat what in Hindu scriptures are known as one thousand names of God. But these one thousand names of God were by no means exhaustive. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many names as there are creatures and, therefore, we also say that God is nameless and since God has many forms we also consider Him formless, and since He speaks to us through many tongues we consider Him to be speechless and so on. And so when I came to study Islam, I found that Islam too had many names for God. I would say with those who say God is Love, God is Love. But deep down in me I used to say that though God may be Love, God is Truth, above all. If it is possible for the human tongue to give the fullest description of God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself, God is Truth. But two years ago I went a step further and said that Truth is God. You will see the fine distinction between the two statements, viz. that God is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to that conclusion after a continuous and relentless search after Truth which began nearly fifty years ago. I then found that the nearest approach to Truth was through love. But I also found that love has many meanings in the English language at least and that human love in the sense of passion could become a degrading thing also. I found too that love in the sense of *ahimsa* had only a limited number of votaries in the world. But I never found a double meaning in connexion with truth and not even atheists had demurred to the necessity or power of truth. But in their passion for discovering truth the atheists have not hesitated to deny the very existence of God—from their own point of view rightly. And it was because of this reasoning that I saw that rather than say that God is Truth I should say that Truth is God.

We do not know all the laws of God nor their working. Knowledge of the tallest scientist or the greatest spiritualist is like a particle of dust. If God is not a personal being for me like my earthly father, He is infinitely more. He rules me in the tiniest detail of my life. I believe literally that not a leaf moves but by His will. Every breath I take depends upon His sufferance.

He and His law are one. The Law is God. Anything attributed to Him is not a mere attribute. He is the attribute. He is Truth, Love and Law and a million other things that human ingenuity can name.

Even in darkest despair, where there seems to be no helper and no comfort in the wide, wide world, His name inspires us with strength and puts all doubts and despair to flight. The sky may be overcast today with clouds, but a fervent prayer to Him is enough to dispel them. It is because of prayer that I have known no disappointment....I have known no despair. Why then should you give way to it? Let us pray that He may cleanse our hearts of pettinesses, meannesses and deceit and He will surely answer our prayers. Many have always turned to that unfailing source of strength.

I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbours. They have become so helpless, so resourcesless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity.

Perfection is the attribute of the Almighty, and yet what a great democrat He is! What an amount of wrong and humbug He suffers on our part! He even suffers us insignificant creatures of His to question His very existence, though He is in every atom about us, around us and within us. But He has reserved to Himself the right of becoming manifest to whomsoever He chooses. He is a Being without hands and feet and other organs, yet he can see Him to whom He chooses to reveal Himself.

In a strictly scientific sense God is at the bottom of both good and evil. He directs the assassin's dagger no less than the surgeon's knife. But for all that good and evil are, for human purposes, from each other distinct and incompatible, being symbolical of light and darkness, God and Satan.

The laws of Nature are changeless, unchangeable, and there are no miracles in the sense of infringement or interruption of Nature's laws. But we, limited beings, fancy all kinds of things and impute our limitations to God. We may copy God, but not He us. We may not divide Time for Him. Time for Him is eternity. For us there is past, present and future. And what is human life of a hundred years but less than a mere speck in the eternity of Time?

I am surer of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. Then I can also testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may chop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But blast my belief in God, and I am dead. You may call this a superstition, but I confess it is a superstition that I hug, even as I used to do the name of Rama in my childhood when there was any cause of danger or alarm. That was what an old nurse had taught me.

Some of my correspondents seem to think that I can work wonders. Let me say as a devotee of truth that I have no such gift. All the power I may have comes from God. But He does not work directly. He works through His numberless agencies.

I have seen and believe that God never appears to you in person, but in action which can only account for your deliverance in your darkest hour.

Individual worship cannot be described in words. It goes on continuously and even unconsciously. There is not a moment when I do not feel the presence of a Witness whose eye misses nothing and with whom I strive to keep in tune.

I have never found Him lacking in response. I have found Him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest in my ordeals in jails when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God.

I claim to know my millions. All the hours of the day I am with them. They are my first care and last because I recognize no God except that God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize His presence; I do. And I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God through the service of these millions.

If I am to identify myself with the grief of the least in India, aye, if I have the power, the least in the world, let me identify myself with the sins of the little ones who are under my care. And so doing in all humility, I hope some day to see God—Truth—face to face.

Ramanama

Though my reason and heart long ago realized the highest attribute and name of God as Truth, I recognize Truth by the name of *Ram*. In the darkest hour of my trial, that one name has saved me and is still saving me. It may be the association of childhood, it may be the fascination that Tulsidas has wrought on me. But the potent fact is there, and as I write these lines, my memory revives the scenes of my childhood, when I used daily to visit the Ramji Mandir adjacent to my ancestral home. My *Ram* then resided there. He saved me from many fears and sins. It was no superstition for me. The custodian of the idol may have been a bad man. I know nothing against him. Misdeeds might have gone on in the temple. Again I know nothing of them. Therefore, they would not affect me. What was and is true of me is true of millions of Hindus.

When a child, my nurse taught me to repeat *Ramanama* whenever I felt afraid or miserable, and it has been second nature with me with growing knowledge and advancing years. I may even say that the Word is in my heart, if not actually on my lips, all the twenty-four hours. It has been my saviour and I am ever stayed on it. In the spiritual literature of the world, the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas takes a foremost place. It has charms that I miss in the *Mahabharata* and even in Valmiki's *Ramayana*.

6. Prayer the Food of my Soul

No act of mine is done without prayer. Man is a fallible being. He can never be sure of his steps. What he may regard as answer to prayer may be an echo of his pride. For infallible guidance man has to have a perfectly innocent heart incapable of evil. I can lay no such claim. Mine is a struggling, striving, erring imperfect soul. But I can rise only by experimenting upon myself and others. I believe in the absolute oneness of God and, therefore, also of humanity. What though we have many bodies? We have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source. I cannot, therefore, detach myself from the wickedest soul (nor may I be denied identity with the most virtuous). Whether, therefore, I will or no, I must involve in my experiment the whole of my kind. Nor can I do without experiment. Life is but an endless series of experiments.

ON ALL occasions of trial He has saved me. I know that the phrase 'God saved me' has a deeper meaning for me today, and still I feel that I have not yet grasped its entire meaning. Only richer experience can help me to a fuller understanding. But in all my trials—of a spiritual nature, as a lawyer, in conducting institutions, and in politics—I can say that God saved me. When every hope is gone, 'when helpers fail and comforts flee', I experience that help arrives somehow, from I know not where. Supplication, worship, prayer are no superstition; they are acts more real than the acts of eating, drinking, sitting or walking. It is no exaggeration to say that they alone are real, all else is unreal.

SUCH WORSHIP or prayer is no flight of eloquence; it is no lip-homage. It springs from the heart. If, therefore, we achieve that purity of the heart when it is 'emptied of all but love', if we keep all the chords in proper tune, they 'trembling pass in music out of sight'. Prayer needs no speech. It is in itself independent of any sensuous effort. I have not the slightest doubt that prayer is an unfailing means of cleansing the heart of passions. But it must be combined with the utmost humility.

AS I BELIEVE that silent prayer is often a mightier [force] than any overt act, in my helplessness I continuously pray in the faith that the prayer of a pure heart never goes unanswered.

As food is necessary for the body, prayer is necessary for the soul. A man may be able to do without food, for a number of days—as MacSwiney did for over 70 days—but, believing in God, man cannot, should not live a moment without prayer.

I can give my own testimony and say that a heartfelt prayer is undoubtedly the most potent instrument that man possesses for overcoming cowardice and all other bad old habits. Prayer is an impossibility without a living faith in the presence of God within.

Not until we have reduced ourselves to nothingness can we conquer the evil in us. God demands nothing less than complete self-surrender as the price for the only real freedom that is worth having. And when a man thus loses himself he immediately finds himself in the service of all that lives. It becomes his delight and his recreation. He is a new man, never weary of spending himself in the service of God's creation.

Never own defeat in a sacred cause and make up your minds henceforth that you will be pure and that you will find a response from God. But God never answers the prayers of the arrogant, nor the prayers of those who bargain with Him....If you would ask Him to help you, you would go to Him in all your nakedness, approach Him without reservations, also without fear or doubts as to how He can help a fallen being like you. He who has helped millions who have approached Him, is He going to desert you? He makes no exceptions whatsoever and you will find that every one of your prayers will be answered. The prayer of even the most impure will be answered. I am telling this out of my personal experience, I have gone through the purgatory. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and everything will be added unto you.

PRAYER IS the key of the morning and the bolt of the evening.

IT IS better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart.

I AM giving you a bit of my experience and that of my companions when I say that he who has experienced the magic of prayer may do without food for days together but not a single moment without prayer. For without prayer there is no inward peace.

PRAYER HAS been the saving of my life. Without it I should have been a lunatic long ago. My autobiography will tell you that I have had my fair share of the bitterest public and private experiences. They threw me into temporary despair, but if I was able to get rid of it, it was because of prayer. Now I may tell you that prayer has not been part of my life in the sense that truth has been. It came out of sheer necessity, as I found myself in a plight when I could not possibly be happy without it. And the more my faith in God increased, the more irresistible became the yearning for prayer. Life seemed to be dull and vacant without it. I had attended the Christian service in South Africa, but it had failed to grip me. I could not join them in prayer. They supplicated God, but I could not do so, I failed egregiously. I started with disbelief in God and prayer, and until at a late stage in life I did not feel anything like a void in life. But at that stage I felt that as food was indispensable for the body, so was prayer indispensable for the soul. In fact food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer-starvation....In spite of despair staring me in the face on the political horizon, I have never lost my peace. In fact I have found people who envy my peace. That peace, I tell you, comes from prayer; I am not a man of learning but I humbly claim to be a man of prayer. I am indifferent as to the form. Every one is a law unto himself in that respect. But there are some well-marked roads, and it is safe to walk along the beaten tracks, trod by the ancient teachers....I have given my personal testimony. Let every one try and find that as a result of daily prayer he adds something new to his life, something with which nothing can be compared.

Efficacy of Silence

It has often occurred to me that a seeker after truth has to be silent. I know the wonderful efficacy of silence. I visited a Trappist monastery in South Africa. A beautiful place it was. Most of the inmates of that place were under a vow of silence. I inquired of the Father the motive of it and he said the motive is apparent: 'We are frail human beings. We do not know very often what we say. If we want to listen to the still small voice that is always speaking within us, it will not be heard if we continually speak.' I understood that precious lesson. I know the secret of silence.

Experience has taught me that silence is a part of the spiritual discipline of a votary of truth. Proneness to exaggerate, to suppress or modify the truth, wittingly or unwittingly, is a natural weakness of man, and silence is necessary in order to surmount it. A man of few words will rarely be thoughtless in his speech; he will measure every word.

Silence of the sewn-up lips is no silence. One may achieve the same result by chopping off one's tongue, but that too would not be silence. He is silent who, having the capacity to speak, utters no idle word.

It [silence] has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me. Originally it was taken to relieve the sense of pressure. Then I wanted time for writing. After, however, I had practised it for some time, I saw the spiritual value of it. It suddenly flashed across my mind that that was the time when I could best hold communion with God. And now I feel as though I was naturally built for silence.

Silence is a great help to a seeker after truth like myself. In the attitude of silence the soul finds the path in a clearer light, and what is elusive and deceptive resolves itself into crystal clearness. Our life is a long and arduous quest after Truth, and the soul requires inward restfulness to attain its full height.

7. The Inner Voice

There come to us moments in life when about some things we need no proof from without. A little voice within us tells us, 'You are on the right track, move neither to your left nor right, but keep to the strait and narrow way'.

There are moments in your life when you must act, even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The 'still small voice' within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty.

Having made a ceaseless effort to attain self-purification, I have developed some little capacity to hear correctly and clearly the 'still small voice within'.

I SHALL lose my usefulness the moment I stifle the 'still small voice within'.

NOBODY HAS to my knowledge questioned the possibility of the inner voice speaking to some, and it is a gain to the world even if one person's claim to speak under the authority of the inner voice can be really sustained. Many may make the claim, but not all will be able to substantiate it. But it cannot and ought not to be suppressed for the sake of preventing false claimants. There is no danger whatsoever if many people could truthfully represent the inner voice. But, unfortunately, there is no remedy against hypocrisy. Virtue must not be suppressed because many will feign it. Men have always been found throughout the world claiming to speak for the inner voice. But no harm has yet overtaken the world through their shortlived activities. Before one is able to listen to that voice, one has to go through a long and fairly severe course of training, and when it is the inner voice that speaks, it is unmistakable. The world cannot be successfully fooled for all time. There is, therefore, no danger of anarchy setting in because a humble man like me will not be suppressed and will dare to claim the authority of the inner voice, when he believes that he has heard it.

FOR ME the Voice of God, of Conscience, of Truth, or the Inner Voice or 'the Still Small Voice' mean one and the same thing. I saw no form. I have never tried, for I have always believed God to be without form. But what I did hear was like a Voice from afar and yet quite near. It was as unmistakable as some human voice definitely speaking to me, and irresistible. I was not dreaming at the time I heard the Voice. The hearing of the Voice was preceded by a terrific struggle within me. Suddenly the Voice came upon me. I listened, made certain it was the Voice, and the struggle ceased. I was calm. The determination was made accordingly, the date and the hour of the fast were fixed....

Could I give any further evidence that it was truly the Voice that I heard and that it was not an echo of my own heated imagination? I have no further evidence to convince the sceptic. He is free to say that it was all self-delusion or hallucination. It may well have been so. I can offer no proof to the contrary. But I can say this, that not the unanimous verdict of the whole world against me could shake me from the belief that what I heard was the true Voice of God....

But some think that God himself is a creation of our own imagination. If that view holds good, then nothing is real. Everything is of our own imagination. Even so, whilst my imagination dominates me, I can only act under its spell. Realest things are only relatively so. For me the Voice was more real than my own existence. It has never failed me, or for that matter, anyone else. And everyone who wills can hear the Voice. It is within everyone. But like everything else, it requires previous and definite preparation.

MY CLAIM to hear the voice of God is no new claim. Unfortunately there is no way that I know of proving the claim except through results. God will not be God if He allowed Himself to be an object of proof by His creatures. But He does give His willing slave power to pass through the fiercest of ordeals. I have been a willing slave to this most exacting Master for more than half a century. His voice has been increasingly audible as years have rolled by. He has never forsaken me even in my darkest hour. He has saved me often against myself and left me not a vestige of independence. The greater the surrender to Him, the greater has been my joy.

THERE IS no question of hallucination. I have stated a simple scientific truth, thus to be tested by all who have the will and the patience to acquire the necessary qualifications, which are again incredibly simple to understand and easy enough to acquire where there is determination. I can only say: 'You have to believe no one but yourselves. You must try to listen to the inner voice, but if you won't have the expression "inner voice", you may use the expression "dictates of reason", which you should obey, and if you will not parade God, I have no doubt you will parade something else which in the end will prove to be God, for, fortunately, there is no one and nothing else but God in this universe.' I would also submit that it is not everyone claiming to act on the urge of the inner voice [who] has that urge. After all, like every other faculty, this faculty for listening to the still small voice within requires previous effort and training, perhaps much greater than what is required for the acquisition of any other faculty, and even if out of thousands of claimants only a few succeed in establishing their claim, it is well worth running the risk of having and tolerating doubtful claimants. A person falsely claiming to act under divine inspiration or the promptings of the inner voice without having any such, will fare worse than the one falsely claiming to act under the authority of an earthly sovereign. Whereas the latter on being exposed will escape with injury to his body the former may perish body and soul together. Charitable critics impute no fraud to me, but suggest that I am highly likely to be acting under some hallucination. The result for me, even then, will not be far different from what it would be if I was laying a false claim. A humble seeker that I claim to be has need to be most cautious and, to preserve the balance of mind, he has to reduce himself to zero before God will guide him. Let me not labour this point.

RIGHTLY OR wrongly, I know that I have no other resource as a *satyagrahi* than the assistance of God in every conceivable difficulty and I would like it to be believed that what may appear to be inexplicable actions of mine are really due to inner promptings.

It may be a product of my heated imagination. If it is so, I prize that imagination as it has served me for a chequered life extending over a period of now over fifty-five years, because I learned to rely consciously upon God before I was fifteen years old.

8. Truth and Beauty

THERE ARE two aspects of things—the outward and the inward....The outward has no meaning except in so far as it helps the inward....All true Art is thus an expression of the soul. The outward forms have value only in so far as they are the expression of the inward spirit of man.

I KNOW that many call themselves artists, and are recognized as such, and yet in their works there is absolutely no trace of the soul's upward urge and unrest.

ALL TRUE Art must help the soul to realize its inner self. In my own case, I find that I can do entirely without external forms in my soul's realization. I can claim, therefore, that there is truly efficient Art in my life, though you might not see what you call works of Art about me. My room may have blank walls; and I may even dispense with the roof, so that I may gaze out at the starry heavens overhead that stretch in an unending expanse of beauty. What conscious Art of man can give me the panoramic scenes that open out before me, when I look up to the sky above with all its shining stars? This, however, does not mean that I refuse to accept the value of productions of Art, generally accepted as such, but only that I personally feel how inadequate these are compared with the eternal symbols of beauty in Nature. These productions of man's Art have their value only in so far as they help the soul onward towards self-realization.

I SEE and find beauty in Truth or through Truth. All Truths, not merely true ideas, but truthful faces, truthful pictures, or songs are highly beautiful. People generally fail to see Beauty in Truth, the ordinary man runs away from and becomes blind to the beauty in it. Whenever men begin to see Beauty in Truth, then true Art will arise.

To A true artist only that face is beautiful which, quite apart from its exterior, shines with the Truth within the soul. There is...no Beauty apart from Truth. On the other hand, Truth may manifest itself in forms which may not be outwardly beautiful at all. Socrates, we are told, was the most truthful man of his time, and yet his features are said to have been the ugliest in Greece. To my mind he was beautiful because all his life was a striving after Truth, and you may remember that this outward form did not prevent Phidias from appreciating the beauty of Truth in him, though as an artist he was accustomed to see Beauty in outward forms also.

TRUTH AND Untruth often co-exist; good and evil are often found together. In an artist also not seldom the right perception of things and the wrong co-exist. Truly beautiful creations come when right perception is at work. If these monuments are rare in life they are also rare in Art.

THESE BEAUTIES ['a sunset or a crescent moon that shines amid the stars at night'] are truthful, inasmuch as they make me think of the Creator at the back of them. How else could these be beautiful, but for the Truth that is in the centre of creation? When I admire the wonder of a sunset or the beauty of the moon, my soul expands in worship of the Creator. I try to see Him and His mercies in all these creations. But even the sunsets and sunrises would be mere hindrances if they did not help me to think of Him. Anything, which is a hindrance to the flight of the soul, is a delusion and a snare; even like the body, which often does actually hinder you in the path of salvation.

TRUTH IS the first thing to be sought for, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added unto you. That is what Christ really taught in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus was, to my mind, a supreme artist because he saw and expressed Truth; and so was Muhammad, the Koran being the most perfect composition in all Arabic literature—at any rate, that is what scholars say. It is because both of them strove first for Truth that the grace of expression naturally came in and yet neither Jesus nor Muhammad wrote on Art. That is the Truth and Beauty I crave for, live for, and would die for.

HERE TOO, just as elsewhere, I must think in terms of the millions. And to the millions we cannot give that training to acquire a perception of Beauty in such a way as to see Truth in it. Show them Truth first and they will see Beauty afterwards....Whatever can be useful to... starving millions is beautiful to my mind. Let us give today first the vital things of life, and all the graces and ornaments of life will follow.

I LOVE MUSIC and all the other arts, but I do not attach such value to them as is generally done. I cannot, for example, recognize the value of those activities which require technical knowledge for their understanding ....When I gaze at the star-sown heaven, and the infinite beauty it affords my eyes, that means to me more than all that human art can give me. That does not mean that I ignore the value of those works generally called artistic; but personally, in comparison with the infinite beauty of Nature, I feel their unreality too intensely.... Life is greater than all art. I would go even further and declare that the man whose life comes nearest to perfection is the greatest artist; for what is art without the sure foundation and framework of a noble life?

After all Art can only be expressed not through inanimate power-driven machinery designed for mass-production, but only through the delicate living touch of the hands of men and women.

True beauty after all consists in purity of heart.

Art to be art must soothe.

I want art and literature that can speak to the millions.

9. My Inconsistencies

I decline to be slave to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis.

I have sacrificed no principle to gain a political advantage.

I must admit my many inconsistencies. But since I am called 'Mahatma', I might well endorse Emerson's saying that 'foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds'. There is, I fancy, a method in my inconsistencies. In my opinion there is a consistency running through my seeming inconsistencies, as in Nature there is unity running through seeming diversity.

Friends who know me have certified that I am as much a moderate as I am an extremist and as much conservative as I am a radical. Hence perhaps my good fortune to have friends among these extreme types of men. The mixture is due, I believe, to my view of *ahimsa.*

Inconsistency is only apparent. It appears so to many friends because of my responsiveness to varying circumstances. Seeming consistency may really be sheer obstinacy.

It has been my misfortune or good fortune to take the world by surprise. New experiments, or old experiments in new style, must sometimes engender misunderstanding.

Those who have at all followed my humble career even superficially cannot have failed to observe that not a single act of my life has been done to the injury of any individual or nation....I claim no infallibility. I am conscious of having made Himalayan blunders, but I am not conscious of having made them intentionally or having even harboured enmity towards any person or nation, or any life, human or sub-human.

I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my pursuit after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that my growth will stop with the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment.

I have never made a fetish of consistency. I am a votary of Truth and I must say what I feel and think at a given moment on the question, without regard to what I may have said before on it. . . . As my vision gets clearer, my views must grow clearer with daily practice. Where I have deliberately altered an opinion, the change should be obvious. Only a careful eye would notice a gradual and imperceptible evolution.

I AM NOT aware of having done a single thing in my life as a matter of expedience. I have ever held that the highest morality is also the highest expedience.

ALL MY life through, the very insistence on truth has taught me to appreciate the beauty of compromise. I saw in later life, that this spirit was an essential part of *satyagraha.* It has often meant endangering my life and incurring the displeasure of friends. But truth is hard as adamant and tender as a blossom.

HUMAN LIFE is a series of compromises, and it is not always easy to achieve in practice what one has found to be true in theory.

THERE ARE eternal principles which admit of no compromise, and one must be prepared to lay down one's life in the practice of them.

10. The Gospel of Non-violence

I HAVE been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life—domestic, institutional, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed. Where it has seemed sometimes to have failed, I have ascribed it to my imperfections. I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker after Truth, which is but another name for God. In the course of that search the discovery of non-violence came to me. Its spread is my life mission. I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission.

I AM not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the *rishis* and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

I HAVE, therefore, ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For *satyagraha* and its off-shoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The *rishis,* who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

I WANT INDIA to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world.

IF INDIA takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory. Then India will cease to be the pride of my heart. I am wedded to India because I owe my all to her. I believe absolutely that she has a mission for the world. She is not to copy Europe blindly. India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself. My life is dedicated to service of India through the religion of non-violence.

THERE ARE more instances than one in my public life when, with the ability to retaliate, I have refrained from doing so and advised friends to do likewise. My life is dedicated to the spread of that doctrine. I read it in the teachings of all the greatest teachers of the world—Zoroaster, Mahavir, Daniel, Jesus, Muhammad, Nanak, and a host of others.

NON-VIOLENCE is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed.

I AM not ashamed to stand erect before the heroic and self-sacrificing revolutionary because I am able to pit an equal measure of non-violent men's heroism and sacrifice untarnished by the blood of the innocent. Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others. The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man.

MY MISSION is to teach by example and precept under severe restraint the use of the matchless weapon of *satyagraha,* which is a direct corollary of non-violence and truth. I am anxious, indeed I am impatient, to demonstrate that there is no remedy for the many ills of life save that of non-violence....When I have become incapable of evil and when nothing harsh or haughty occupies, be it momentarily, my thought-world, then, and not till then, my non-violence will move all the hearts of all the world. I have placed before me and the reader no impossible ideal or ordeal. It is man's prerogative and birth-right. We have lost the paradise only to regain it. If it takes time, then it is but a speck in the complete time-circle. The Divine Teacher of the *Gita* knew when he said that millions of our days are equal to only a day of Brahma.

My EXPERIENCE, daily growing stronger and richer, tells me that there is no peace for individuals or for nations without practising Truth and Non-violence to the uttermost extent possible for man. The policy of retaliation has never succeeded.

My PREACHING and teaching are not emotional or unpractical, for I teach what is ancient and strive to practise what I preach. And I claim that what I practise is capable of being practised by all, because I am a very ordinary mortal open to the same temptations and liable to the same weaknesses as the best among us.

I HAVE been a 'gambler' all my life. In my passion for finding truth and in relentlessly following out my faith in non-violence, I have counted no stake too great. In doing so I have erred, if at all, in the company of the most distinguished scientist of any age and any clime.

My LOVE for non-violence is superior to every other thing mundane or supramundane. It is equalled only by my love for Truth which is to me synonymous with non-violence through which and which alone I can see and reach Truth. My scheme of life, if it draws no distinction between different religionists in India, also draws none between different races. For me 'man is a man for a' that'.

I CANNOT intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human-beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine.

I AM but a weak aspirant, ever failing, ever trying. My failures make me more vigilant than before and intensify my faith. I can see with the eye of faith that the observance of the twin doctrine of Truth and Non-violence has possibilities of which we have but very inadequate conception.

IT IS my unshakable belief that her [India's] destiny is to deliver the message of non-violence to mankind. It may take ages to come to fruition. But so far as I can judge, no other country will precede her in the fulfilment of that mission.

THERE IS no such thing as 'Gandhism', and I do not want to leave any sect after me. I do not claim to have originated any new principle or doctrine. I have simply tried in my own way to apply the eternal truths to our daily life and problems....I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and Non-violence are as old as the hills. All I have done is to try experiments in both on as vast a scale as I could do. In doing so, I have sometimes erred and learnt by my errors. Life and its problems have thus become to me so many experiments in the practice of truth and non-violence. By instinct I have been truthful, but not non-violent. As a Jain *muni* once rightly said, I was not so much a votary of *ahimsa* as I was of truth, and I put the latter in the first place and the former in the second. For, as he put it, I was capable of sacrificing non-violence for the sake of truth. In fact it was in the course of my pursuit of truth that I discovered non-violence.

A LIVING faith in non-violence is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it he won't have the courage to die without anger, without fear and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God. The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives even of those who may be called opponents.

My aspiration is limited. God has not given me the power to guide the world on the path of non-violence. But I have imagined that He has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills. The progress already made is great. But much more remains to be done.

Non-violence is an active force of the highest order. It is soul-force or the power of Godhead within us. Imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that essence—he would not be able to bear its full blaze, but even an infinitesimal fraction of it, when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. The sun in the heavens fills the whole universe with its life-giving warmth. But if one went too near it, it would consume him to ashes. Even so it is with Godhead. We become Godlike to the extent we realize non-violence; but we can never become wholly God. Non-violence is like radium in its action. An infinitesimal quantity of it embedded in a malignant growth, acts continuously, silently and ceaselessly till it has transformed the whole mass of the diseased tissue into a healthy one. Similarly, even a little of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society.

It is the acid test of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no rancour left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. That was my experience in South Africa, with General Smuts. He started with being my bitterest opponent and critic. Today he is my warmest friend.

In my opinion non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the most active force in the world....Non-violence is the supreme law. During my half a century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence.

I AM an irrepressible optimist. My optimism rests on my belief in the infinite possibilities of the individual to develop non-violence. The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes till it overwhelms your surroundings and by and by might oversweep the world.

WHILE I prate about Universal Non-violence, my experiment is confined to India. If it succeeds, the world will accept it without effort. There is, however, a big BUT. The pause does not worry me. My faith is brightest in the midst of impenetrable darkness.

Between Cowardice and Violence

I WOULD risk violence a thousand times rather than emasculation of a whole race.

I DO believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence...I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour. But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence.

I DO not say 'eschew violence in your dealing with robbers or thieves or with nations that may invade India'. But in order that we are better able to do so, we must learn to restrain ourselves. It is a sign not of strength but of weakness to take up the pistol on the slightest pretext. Mutual fisticuffs are a training not in violence but in emasculation. My method of non-violence can never lead to loss of strength, but it alone will make it possible, if the nation wills it, to offer disciplined and concerted violence in time of danger.

My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Non-violence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience. I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence. As a coward, which I was for years, I harboured violence. I began to prize non-violence only when I began to shed cowardice.

I am but an humble explorer of the science of non-violence. Its hidden depths sometimes stagger me just as much as they stagger fellow-workers.

I cannot impose my personal faith on others, never on a national organization. I can but try to convince the nation of its beauty and usefulness....It would be a calamity if by my obstinacy I stand in the way of the country's progress by other means, so long as they are not positively mischievous and harmful. I should, for instance, rise, even if I was alone, against methods of actual violence. But I have recognized that the nation has the right, if it so wills, to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence. Only then India ceases to be the land of my love even though she be the land of my birth, even as I should take no pride in my mother if she went astray.

I want both the Hindus and Mussalmans to cultivate the cool courage to die without killing. But if one has not that courage, I want him to cultivate the art of killing and being killed rather than in a cowardly manner flee from danger. For the latter in spite of his flight does commit mental *himsa.* He flees because he has not the courage to be killed in the act of killing.

MY CREED of non-violence is an extremely active force. It has no room for cowardice or even weakness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent, but there is none for a coward. I have, therefore, said more than once...that if we do not know how to defend ourselves, our women and our places of worship by the force of suffering, i.e. non-violence, we must, if we are men, be at least able to defend all these by fighting.

THE WORLD is not entirely governed by logic. Life itself involves some kind of violence and we have to choose the path of least violence.

THE STRENGTH to kill is not essential for self-defence; one ought to have the strength to die. When a man is fully ready to die, he will not even desire to offer violence. Indeed, I may put it down as a self-evident proposition that the desire to kill is in inverse proportion to the desire to die. And history is replete with instances of men who by dying with courage and compassion on their lips converted the hearts of their violent opponents.

NON-VIOLENCE cannot be taught to a person who fears to die and has no power of resistance. A helpless mouse is not non-violent because he is always eaten by pussy. He would gladly eat the murderess if he could, but he ever tries to flee from her. We do not call him a coward, because he is made by nature to behave no better than he does. But a man who, when faced by danger, behaves like a mouse, is rightly called a coward. He harbours violence and hatred in his heart and would kill his enemy if he could without hurting himself. He is a stranger to non-violence. All sermonizing on it will be lost on him. Bravery is foreign to his nature. Before he can understand non-violence he has to be taught to stand his ground and even suffer death, in the attempt to defend himself against the aggressor who bids fair to overwhelm him. To do otherwise would be to confirm his cowardice and take him further away from non-violence. Whilst I may not actually help anyone to retaliate. I must not let a coward seek shelter behind non-violence so-called. Not knowing the stuff of which non-violence is made, many have honestly believed that running away from danger every time was a virtue compared to offering resistance, especially when it was fraught with danger to one's life. As a teacher of non-violence I must, so far as it is possible for me, guard against such an unmanly belief.

NON-VIOLENCE is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity.

SELF-DEFENCE......is the only honourable course where there is unreadiness for self-immolation.

NO MATTER how weak a person is in body, if it is a shame to flee, he will stand his ground and die at his post. This would be non-violence and bravery. No matter how weak he is, he will use what strength he has in inflicting injury on his opponent, and die in the attempt. This is bravery, but not non-violence. If, when his duty is to face danger, he flees, it is cowardice. In the first case the man will have love or charity in him. In the second and third cases, there would be a dislike or distrust and fear.

If the best minds of the world have not imbibed the spirit of non-violence, they would have to meet gangsterism in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not gone far beyond the law of the jungle, that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the heritage that God has given us, that, in spite of the teaching of Christianity which is 1,900 years old and of Hinduism and Buddhism which are older, and even of Islam, we have not made much headway as human beings. But whilst I would understand the use of force by those who have not the spirit of non-violence in them I would have those who know non-violence to throw their whole weight in demonstrating that even gangsterism has to be met with non-violence.

My non-violence does admit of people who cannot or will not be non-violent, holding and making effective use of arms. Let me repeat for the thousandth time that non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak.

It has become the fashion these days to say that society cannot be organized or run on non-violent lines. I join issue on that point. In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. That, in my opinion, is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of the family must be true of society which is but a larger family.

11. All Life is One

MY ETHICS not only permit me to claim but require me to own kinship with not merely the ape but the horse and the sheep, the lion and the leopard, the snake and the scorpion. (Not so need these kinsfolk regard themselves.) The hard ethics which rule my life, and I hold ought to rule that of every man and woman, imposes this unilateral obligation upon us. And it is so imposed because man alone is made in the image of God. That some of us do not recognize that status of ours, makes no difference, except that then we do not get the benefit of the status, even as a lion brought up in the company of sheep may not know his own status and, therefore, does not receive its benefits; but it belongs to him nevertheless, and, the moment he realizes it, he begins to exercise his dominion over the sheep. But no sheep masquerading as a lion can ever attain the leonine status. And, to prove the proposition, that man is made in the image of God, it is surely unnecessary to show that all men admittedly exhibit that image in their own persons. It is enough to show that one man at least has done so. And, will it be denied that the great religious teachers of mankind have exhibited the image of God in their own persons?

I BELIEVE myself to be saturated with *ahimsa*—non-violence. *Ahimsa* and Truth are as my two lungs. I cannot live without them. But I see every moment, with more and more clearness, the immense power of *ahimsa* and the littleness of man. Even the forest dweller cannot be entirely free from violence, in spite of his limitless compassion. With every breath he commits a certain amount of violence. The body itself is a house of slaughter, and, therefore, *moksha* and Eternal Bliss consist in perfect deliverance from the body, and, therefore, all pleasure, save the joy of *moksha,* is evanescent, imperfect. That being the case, we have to drink, in daily life, many a bitter draught of violence.

I CANNOT for a moment bear to see a dog, or for that matter any other living being, helplessly suffering the torture of a slow death. I do not kill a human being thus circumstanced because I have more hopeful remedies. I should kill a dog similarly situated, because in its case I am without a remedy. Should my child be attacked by rabies and there was no hopeful remedy to relieve his agony, I should consider it my duty to take his life. Fatalism has its limits. We leave things to fate after exhausting all the remedies. One of the remedies, and the final one to relieve the agony of a tortured child, is to take his life.

I DO not want to live at the cost of the life even of a snake. I should let him bite me to death rather than kill him. But it is likely that if God puts me to that cruel test and permits a snake to assault me, I may not have the courage to die, but that the beast in me may assert itself and I may seek to kill the snake in defending this perishable body: I admit that my belief has not become so incarnate in me as to warrant my stating emphatically that I have shed all fear of snakes so as to befriend them as I would like to be able to. It is my implicit belief that snakes, tigers, etc., are God's answer to the poisonous, wicked, evil thoughts we harbour. . . . I believe that all life is one. Thoughts take definite forms. Tigers and snakes have kinship with us. They are a warning to us to avoid harbouring evil, wicked, lustful thoughts. If I want to rid the earth of venomous beasts and reptiles, I must rid myself of all venomous thoughts. I shall not do so if in my impatient ignorance and in my desire to prolong the existence of the body I seek to kill the so-called venomous beasts and reptiles. If in not seeking to defend myself against such noxious animals I die, I should rise again a better and fuller man. With that faith in me how should I seek to kill a fellow being in a snake?

WE ARE living in the midst of death trying to grope our way to Truth. Perhaps it is as well that we are beset with danger at every point in our life, for, in spite of our knowledge of the danger and of our precarious existence, our indifference to the source of all life is excelled only by our amazing arrogance.

MY INTELLECT rebels against the destruction of any life in any shape whatsoever. But my heart is not strong enough to befriend these creatures, which, experience has shown, are destructive. The language of convincing confidence, which comes from actual experience, fails me, and it will continue to do so, so long as I am cowardly enough to fear snakes, tigers and the like.

ALL LIFE in the flesh exists by some *himsa*. Hence the highest religion has been defined by a negative word *ahimsa*. The world is bound in a chain of destruction. In other words *himsa* is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a votary of *ahimsa* always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of flesh.

I AM painfully aware of the fact that my desire to continue life in the body involves me in constant *himsa*. That is why I am becoming growingly indifferent to this physical body of mine. For instance, I know that in the act of respiration I destroy innumerable invisible germs floating in the air. But I do not stop breathing. The consumption of vegetables involves *himsa*, but I find that I cannot give them up. Again, there is *himsa* in the use of antiseptics, yet I cannot bring myself to discard the use of disinfectants like kerosene, etc., to rid myself of the mosquito pest and the like. I suffer snakes to be killed in the Ashram when it is impossible to catch them and put them out of harm's way. I even tolerate the use of the stick to drive the bullocks in the Ashram. Thus there is no end to *himsa* which I directly and indirectly commit. If, as a result of this humble confession of mine, friends choose to give me up as lost, I would be sorry, but nothing will induce me to try to conceal my imperfections in the practice of *ahimsa*. All I claim for myself is that I am ceaselessly trying to understand the implications of great ideals like *ahimsa* and to practise them in thought, word and deed and that not without a certain measure of success as I think. But I know that I have a long distance yet to cover in this direction.

I WOULD not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious.

I VERILY believe that man's habit of killing man on the slightest pretext has darkened his reason and he gives himself liberties with other life which he would shudder to take if he really believed that God was a God of Love and Mercy. Anyway though for fear of death I may kill tigers, snakes, fleas, mosquitoes and the like, I ever pray for illumination that will shed all fear of death and thus refusing to take life know the better way, for :

> Taught by the Power that pities me,
> I learn to pity them.

Vivisection

I AM not opposed to the progress of science as such. On the contrary, the scientific spirit of the West commands my admiration and if that admiration is qualified, it is because the scientist of the West takes no note of God's lower creation. I abhor vivisection with my whole soul. I detest the unpardonable slaughter of innocent life in the name of science and humanity so-called, and all the scientific discoveries stained with innocent blood I count as of no consequence. If the circulation of blood theory could not have been discovered without vivisection, the human kind could well have done without it. And I see the day clearly dawning when the honest scientist of the West will put limitations upon the present methods of pursuing knowledge. Future measurements will take note not merely of the human family but of all that lives, and even as we are slowly but surely discovering that it is an error to suppose that Hindus can thrive upon the degradation of a fifth of themselves or that peoples of the West can rise or live upon the exploitation and degradation of the Eastern and African nations, so shall we realize in the fulness of time that our dominion over the lower order of creation is not for their slaughter, but for their benefit equally with ours. For I am as certain that they are endowed with a soul as that I am.

12. Non-violence in Peace and War

A NON-VIOLENT man will instinctively prefer direct participation to indirect, in a system which is based on violence and to which he has to belong without any choice being left to him. I belong to a world which is partly based on violence. If I have only a choice between paying for the army of soldiers to kill my neighbours or to be a soldier myself, I would, as I must, consistently with my creed, enlist as a soldier in the hope of controlling the forces of violence and even of converting my comrades.

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE is not a fiction. It is as necessary as individual independence. But neither, if it is based on non-violence, may ever be a menace to the equal independence of the nation or the individual as the case may be. As with individual and national independence, so with the international. The legal maxim is equally moral. *Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas.*[1] It has been well said that the universe is compressed in the atom. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe.

Merely to refuse military service is not enough. To refuse to render military service when the particular time arrives is to do the thing after all the time for combating the evil is practically gone. Military service is only a symptom of the disease which is deeper. I suggest to you that those who are not on the register of military service are equally participating in the crime if they support the state otherwise. He or she who supports a state organized in the military way—whether directly or indirectly—participates in the sin. Each man, old or young, takes part in the sin by contributing to the maintenance of the state by paying the taxes. That is why I said to myself during the war that so long as I ate wheat supported by the army whilst I was doing everything short of being a soldier, it was best for me to enlist in the army and be shot; otherwise I should retire to the mountains and eat food grown by nature. Therefore, all those who want to stop military service can do so by withdrawing all co-operation. Refusal of military service is much more superficial than non-co-operation with the whole system which supports the state. But then one's opposition becomes so swift and so effective that you run the risk of not only being marched to jail but being thrown into the streets.

When two nations are fighting, the duty of a votary of *ahimsa* is to stop the war. He who is not equal to that duty, he who has no power of resisting war, he who is not qualified to resist war, may take part in war and yet whole-heartedly try to free himself, his nation, and the world from war.

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[1] 'So use your own property as not to injure the rights of another.'

I DRAW no distinction between those who wield the weapons of destruction and those who do Red Cross work. Both participate in war and advance its cause. Both are guilty of the crime of war. But even after introspection during all these years, I feel that in the circumstances in which I found myself I was bound to adopt the course I did both during the Boer War and the Great European War and for that matter the so-called Zulu 'rebellion' of Natal in 1906.

LIFE IS governed by a multitude of forces. It would be smooth sailing if one could determine the course of one's actions only by one general principle whose application at a given moment was too obvious to need even a moment's reflection. But I cannot recall a single act which could be so easily determined.

BEING A confirmed war resister I have never given myself training in the use of destructive weapons in spite of opportunities to take such training. It was perhaps thus that I escaped direct destruction of human life. But so long as I lived under a system of Government based on force and voluntarily partook of the many facilities and privileges it created for me, I was bound to help that Government to the extent of my ability when it was engaged in a war, unless I non-co-operated with the Government and renounced to the utmost of my capacity the privileges it offered me.

LET ME take an illustration. I am a member of an institution which holds a few acres of land whose crops are in imminent peril from monkeys. I believe in the sacredness of all life and hence I regard it as a breach of *ahimsa* to inflict any injury on the monkeys. But I do not hesitate to instigate and direct an attack on the monkeys in order to save the crops. I would like to avoid this evil. I can avoid it by leaving or breaking up the institution. I do not do so because I do not expect to be able to find a society where there will be no agriculture and, therefore, no destruction of some life. In fear and trembling, in humility and penance, I, therefore, participate in the injury inflicted on the monkeys, hoping some day to find a way out. . . .

Even so did I participate in the three acts of war. I could not, it would be madness for me to sever my connexion with the society to which I belong. And on those three occasions, I had no thought of non-cooperating with the British Government. My position regarding that Government is totally different today and hence I should not voluntarily participate in its wars and I should not risk imprisonment and even the gallows if I was forced to take up arms or otherwise take part in its military operations.

But that still does not solve that riddle. If there was a National Government, whilst I should not take a direct part in any war, I can conceive occasions when it would be my duty to vote for the military training of those who wish to take it. For I know that all its members do not believe in non-violence to the extent I do. It is not possible to make a person or a society non-violent by compulsion. . . .

Non-violence works in a most mysterious manner. Often a man's actions defy analysis in terms of non-violence; equally often his actions may wear the appearance of violence when he is absolutely non-violent in the highest sense of the term and is subsequently found so to be. All I can then claim for my conduct is that it was, in the instances cited, actuated in the interests of non-violence. There was no thought of sordid national or any other interest at the sacrifice of some other interest.

For me non-violence is not a mere philosophical principle. It is the rule and the breath of my life. I know I fail often, sometimes consciously, more often unconsciously. It is a matter not of the intellect but of the heart. True guidance comes by constant waiting upon God, by utmost humility, self-abnegation, by being ever ready to sacrifice one's self. Its practice requires fearlessness and courage of the highest order. I am painfully aware of my failings.

But the Light within me is steady and clear. There is no escape for any of us save through truth and non-violence. I know that war is wrong, is an unmitigated evil. I know too that it has got to go. I firmly believe that freedom won through bloodshed or fraud is no freedom. . . . Not violence, not un-truth but non-violence, Truth is the law of our being.

It is . . . [a matter] of deep conviction [with me] that war is an unmixed evil. I would not yield to any one in my detestation of war. But conviction is one thing, correct practice is another. The very thing that one war resister may do in the interest of his mission may repel another war resister who may do the exact opposite and yet both may hold the same view about war. This contradiction arises because of the bewildering complexity of human nature. I can only, therefore, plead for mutual toleration even among professors of the same creed.

Non-violence is not an easy thing to understand, still less to practise, weak as we are. We must all act prayerfully and humbly and continually asking God to open the eyes of our understanding, being ever ready to act according to the light as we daily receive it. My task as a lover and promoter of peace, therefore, today consists in unflinching devotion to non-violence in the prosecution of the campaign for regaining our liberty. And if India succeeds in so regaining it, it will be the greatest contribution to the world peace.

PERSONALLY I think the end of this giant war will be what happened in the fabled Mahabharata war. The Mahabharata has been aptly described by a Travancorean as the Permanent History of Man. What is described in that great epic is happening today before our very eyes. The warring nations are destroying themselves with such fury and ferocity that the end will be mutual exhaustion. The victor will share the fate that awaited the surviving Pandavas. The mighty warrior Arjuna was looted in broad daylight by a petty robber. And out of this holocaust must arise a new order for which the exploited millions of toilers have so long thirsted. The prayers of peace-lovers cannot go in vain. *Satyagraha* is itself an unmistakable mute prayer of an agonized soul.

Secret of Peace

IT MAY be long before the law of love will be recognized in international affairs. The machineries of Governments stand between and hide the hearts of one people from those of another. Yet . . . we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between nation and nation, as between man and man, force has failed to solve problems, but that the economic sanction of non-co-operation is far more mighty and conclusive than armies and navies.

TILL A new energy is harnessed and put on wheels, the captains of older energies will treat the innovation as theoretical, impractical, idealistic, and so on. It may take long to lay the wires for international love, but the sanction of international non-cooperation in preference to continued physical compulsion . . . is a distinct progress towards the ultimate and real solution.

NOT TO believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to disbelieve in the Godliness of human nature. Methods hereto adopted have failed because rock-bottom sincerity on the part of those who have striven has been lacking. Not that they have realized this lack. Peace is unattained by part performance of conditions, even as a chemical combination is impossible without complete fulfilment of the conditions of attainment thereof. If the recognized leaders of mankind who have control over the engines of destruction were wholly to renounce their use, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained. This is clearly impossible without the Great Powers of the earth renouncing their imperialistic design. This again seems impossible without great nations ceasing to believe in soul-destroying competition and to desire to multiply wants and, therefore, increase their material possessions. It is my conviction that the root of the evil is want of a living faith in a living God. It is a first-class human tragedy that peoples of the earth who claim to believe in the message of Jesus whom they describe as the Prince of Peace show little of that belief in actual practice. It is painful to see sincere Christian divines limiting the scope of Jesus' message to select individuals. I have been taught from my childhood and tested the truth by experience that the primary virtues of mankind are possible of cultivation by the meanest of the human species. It is this undoubted universal possibility that distinguishes the humans from the rest of God's creation. If even one nation were unconditionally to perform the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would see in our lifetime visible peace established on earth.

PEACE WILL never come until the Great Powers courageously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events must force that belief on the Great Powers. I have an implicit faith, a faith that today burns brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence—that mankind can only be saved through non-violence.

I REITERATE my conviction that there will be no peace for the Allies or the world unless they shed their belief in the efficacy of war and its accompanying terrible deception and fraud and are determined to hammer out real peace based on freedom and equality of all races and nations. Exploitation and domination of one nation over another can have no place in a world striving to put an end to all wars. In such a world only, the militarily weaker nations will be free from the fear of intimidation or exploitation.

FREEDOM OF India will demonstrate to all the exploited races of the earth that their freedom is very near and that in no case will they henceforth be exploited.

Disarmament

I DO suggest that the doctrine [of non-violence] holds good also as between states and states. I know that I am treading on delicate ground if I refer to the late war. But I fear I must in order to make the position clear. It was a war of aggrandizement, as I have understood, on either part. It was a war for dividing the spoils of the exploitation of weaker races—otherwise euphemistically called the world commerce. . . . It would be found that before general disarmament in Europe commences, as it must some day, unless Europe is to commit suicide, some nation will have to dare to disarm herself and take large risks. The level of non-violence in that nation, if that ever happily comes to pass, will naturally have risen so high as to command universal respect. Her judgements will be unerring, her decisions firm, her capacity for heroic self-sacrifice will be great, and she will want to live as much for other nations as for herself.

LIKE OPIUM production, the world manufacture of swords needs to be restricted. The sword is probably responsible for more misery in the world than opium.

If war had no redeeming feature, no courage and heroism behind it, it would be a despicable thing, and would not need speeches to destroy it. But what I would suggest to you is infinitely nobler than war in all its branches including Red Cross organization. Believe me there are many more million prisoners—slaves of their passions and conditions of life, and believe me that there are millions wounded by their own folly, and millions of wrecked homes on the face of the earth. The peace societies of tomorrow would, therefore, have enough work cut out for them when they take up international service.

Question by a Swiss.—Since disarmament chiefly depends on Great Powers why should Switzerland, which is a small state and a neutral state, be asked to disarm itself?

Answer.—It is from the neutral ground of your country that I am speaking to all other Powers and not only to Switzerland. If you won't carry this message to other parts of Europe I shall be absolved from all blame. And seeing that Switzerland is a neutral territory and non-aggressive nation, there is all the more reason why Switzerland should not need an army. Secondly, it is through your hospitality and by reason of your occupying the vantage ground that you have nationals coming to you. It should be possible for you to give to the world a lesson in disarmament and show that you are brave enough to do without an army.

Question.—How could a disarmed neutral country allow other nations to be destroyed? But for our army which was waiting ready at our frontier during the last war we should have been ruined.

Answer.—At the risk of being considered a visionary or a fool I must answer this question in the only manner I know. It would be cowardly of a neutral country to allow an army to devastate a neighbouring country. But there are two ways in common between soldiers of war and soldiers of non-violence, and if I had been a citizen of Switzerland and President of the Federal State, what I would have done would be to refuse passage to the invading army by refusing all supplies. Secondly, by re-enacting a Thermopylæ in Switzerland, you would have presented a living wall of men and women and children inviting invaders to walk over your corpses. You may say that such a thing is beyond human experience and endurance. I say that it is not so. It was quite possible. Last year in Gujerat women stood *lathi* charges unflinchingly and in Peshawar thousands stood hails of bullets without resorting to violence. Imagine these men and women staying in front of an army requiring a safe passage to another country. The army would be brutal enough to walk over them, you might say. I would then say you will still have done your duty by allowing yourself to be annihilated. An army that dares to pass over the corpses of innocent men and women would not be able to repeat that experiment. You may, if you wish, refuse to believe in such courage on the part of the masses of men and women, but then you would have to admit that non-violence is made of sterner stuff. It was never conceived as a weapon of the weak, but of the stoutest hearts.

It is open to the Great Powers to take it [non-violence] up any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. If they or any of them could shed the fear of destruction, if they disarmed themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity. But then these Great Powers have to give up imperialistic ambitions and exploitation of the so-called uncivilized or semi-civilized nations of the earth and revise their mode of life. It means a complete revolution. Great nations can hardly be expected in the ordinary course to move spontaneously in a direction the reverse of the one they have followed, and according to their notion of value, from victory to victory. But miracles have happened before and may happen even in this very prosaic age. Who can dare limit God's power of undoing wrong? One thing is certain. If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications.

If there were no greed, there would be no occasion for armaments. The principle of non-violence necessitates complete abstention from exploitation in any form.

Immediately the spirit of exploitation is gone, armaments will be felt as a positive unbearable burden. Real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another.

13. The Gospel of Satyagraha

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen.

That is the beauty of *satyagraha*. It comes up to oneself, one has not to go out in search for it. That is a virtue inherent in the principle itself. A *dharmayuddha,* in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and a man of religion is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle, God himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A *dharmayuddha* can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the *satyagrahi* feels quite helpless, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all round him, that God comes to the rescue.

A *satyagrahi* bids good-bye to fear. He is, therefore, never afraid of trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the *satyagrahi* is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed.

A *satyagrahi* is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience to the highest law, that is the voice of conscience which overrides all other laws.

WITH *satya* combined with *ahimsa,* you can bring the world to your feet. *Satyagraha* in its essence is nothing but the introduction of truth and gentleness in the political, i.e. the national, life.

DISOBEDIENCE to be civil must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, must be based upon some well-understood principle, must not be capricious and above all, must have no ill-will or hatred behind it.

A CLEAR VICTORY of *satyagraha* is impossible so long as there is ill-will. But those who believe themselves to be weak, are incapable of loving. Let, then, our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: 'I shall not fear any one on earth. I shall fear

God only; I shall not bear ill-will towards any one. I shall not submit to injustice from any one. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering.'

INDEED, ONE perfect resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong.

I HOLD the opinion firmly that Civil Disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation. Of course, it becomes degrading and despicable, if its civil, i.e. non-violent character is a mere camouflage. If the honesty of non-violence be admitted, there is no warrant for condemnation even of the fiercest disobedience, because of the likelihood of its leading to violence. No big or swift movement can be carried on without bold risks, and life will not be worth living if it is not attended with large risks. Does not the history of the world show that there would have been no romance in life, if there had been no risks?

WE DO want to drive out the beast in the man, but we do not want on that account to emasculate him. And in the process of finding his own status, the beast in him is bound now and again to put up his ugly appearance.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil Disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal Disobedience can lead to it. Every state puts down Criminal Disobedience by force. It perishes, if it does not. But to put down Civil Disobedience is to attempt to imprison conscience.

THERE IS no time-limit for a *satyagrahi* nor is there a limit to his capacity for suffering. Hence there is no such thing as defeat in *satyagraha*.

THE HARDEST heart and the grossest ignorance must disappear before the rising sun of suffering without anger and without malice.

SATYAGRAHA IS utter self-effacement, greatest humiliation, greatest patience and brightest faith. It is its own reward.

SATYAGRAHA IS a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth.

IT IS a force that works silently and apparently slowly. In reality, there is no force in the world that is so direct or so swift in working.

NOTHING CROOKED will have countenance from me. For me, the law of *satyagraha*, the law of love, is an eternal principle. I cooperate with all that is good. I desire to non-cooperate with all that is evil.

IT IS not because I value life low that I countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives in *satyagraha*, but because I know that it results, in the long run, in the least loss of life and, what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice.

AND WHEN once it is set in motion its effect, if it is intensive enough, can overtake the whole universe. It is the greatest force because it is the highest expression of the soul.

SINCE *satyagraha* is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a *satyagrahi* exhausts all other means before he resorts to *satyagraha*. He will, therefore, constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him, and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to *satyagraha.* But when he has found the impelling call of the inner voice within him and launches out upon *satyagraha* he has burnt his boats and there is no receding.

IT IS a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence....This force is to violence, and therefore to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim, that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed.

SUFFERING HAS its well-defined limits. Suffering can be both wise and unwise, and when the limit is reached, to prolong it would be not unwise, but the height of folly.

THE *satyagrahi,* whilst he is ever ready for fight, must be equally eager for peace. He must welcome any honourable opportunity for peace.

TRUE SUFFERING does not know itself and never calculates. It brings its own joy which surpasses all other joys.

IN THE code of the *satyagrahi* there is no such thing as surrender to brute force. Or the surrender then is the surrender of suffering and not to the wielder of the bayonet.

THE CONVICTION has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings; war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason.

SATYAGRAHA IS gentle, it never wounds. It must not be the result of anger or malice. It is never fussy, never impatient, never vociferous. It is the direct opposite of compulsion. It was conceived as a complete substitute for violence.

AS A *satyagrahi* I must always allow my cards to be examined and re-examined at all times and make reparation if an error is discovered.

A *satyagrahi* may not even ascend to heaven on the wings of Satan.

HE MUST believe in truth and non-violence as his creed and therefore have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by his truth and love expressed through his suffering.

IN *satyagraha* there is no place for fraud or falsehood, or any kind of untruth. Fraud and untruth today are stalking the world. I cannot sit as a helpless witness to such a situation....If today I sit quiet and inactive, God will take me to task for not using up the treasure He had given me, in the midst of the conflagration that is enveloping the whole world.

A *satyagrahi* never misses, can never miss, a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He needs no previous preparation; his cards are always on the table.

THE FIRST indispensable condition precedent to any civil resistance is that there should be surety against any outbreak of violence whether on the part of those who are identified with civil resistance or on the part of the general public. It would be no answer in the case of an outbreak of violence that it was instigated by the State or other agencies hostile to civil resisters. It should be obvious that civil resistance cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence. This does not mean that the resources of a *satyagrahi* have come to an end. Ways other than civil disobedience should be found out.

IT IS often forgotten that it is never the intention of a *satyagrahi* to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, must be, always to his heart. The *satyagrahi's* object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer. He should avoid artificiality in all his doings. He acts naturally and from inward conviction.

I CLAIM....that the method of passive resistance...is the clearest and safest, because, if the cause is not true, it is the resisters, and they alone, who suffer.

JESUS CHRIST, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoy was the best and brighest [modern] exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe. It is easy to see that soul force is infinitely superior to body force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs resort to soul force, much of the present suffering will be avoided.

IN ANY CASE, the wielding of the force never causes suffering to others. So that whenever it is misused, it only injures the users and not those against whom it is used. Like virtue it has its own reward. There is no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force.

BUDDHA FEARLESSLY carried the war into the enemy's camp and brought down on its knees an arrogant priesthood. Christ drove out the money-changers from the temple of Jerusalem and drew down curses from Heaven upon the hypocrites and the pharisees. Both were for intensely direct action. But even as Buddha and Christ chastised, they showed unmistakable gentleness and love behind every act of theirs. They would not raise a finger against their enemies, but would gladly surrender themselves rather than the truth for which they lived. Buddha would have died resisting the priesthood, if the majesty of his love had not proved to be equal to the task of bending the priesthood. Christ died on the cross with a crown of thorns on his head defying the might of a whole empire. And if I raise resistances of a non-violent character, I simply and humbly follow in the footsteps of the great teachers.

I HAVE never claimed to be the one original *satyagrahi*. What I have claimed is the application of that doctrine on an almost universal scale, and it yet remains to be seen and demonstrated that it is a doctrine which is capable of assimilation by thousands upon thousands of peoples in all ages and climes.

My Non-Cooperation

NON-COOPERATION is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil. Non-cooperation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good.

MY NON-COOPERATION, though it is part of my creed, is a prelude to cooperation. My non-cooperation is with methods and systems, never with men. I may not harbour ill-will even against Dyer. I regard ill-will as beneath the dignity of man.

Behind my non-cooperation there is always the keenest desire to cooperate on the slightest pretext even with the worst of opponents. To me, a very imperfect mortal, ever in need of God's grace, no one is beyond redemption.

By a long course of prayerful discipline I have ceased for over forty years to hate anybody. I know that this is a big claim. Nevertheless, I make it in all humility. But I can and I do hate evil wherever it exists.

My non-cooperation has its root not in hatred, but in love. My personal religion peremptorily forbids me to hate anybody. I learnt this simple yet grand doctrine when I was twelve years old through a school book and the conviction has persisted up to now. It is daily growing on me. It is a burning passion with me.

It is not that I harbour disloyalty towards anything whatsoever, but I do so against all untruth, all that is unjust, all that is evil. . . . I remain loyal to an institution so long as that institution conduces to my growth, to the growth of the nation. Immediately I find that the institution instead of conducing to its growth impedes it, I hold it to be my bounden duty to be disloyal to it.

I am by instinct a cooperator; my very non-cooperation is intended to purge cooperation of all meanness and falsity, for I hold such cooperation is not worth the name.
I have presented non-cooperation in terms of religion, because I enter politics only in so far as it develops the religious faculty in me.

Religion in Politics

I cannot isolate politics from the deepest things of my life, for the simple reason that my politics are not corrupt, they are inextricably bound up with non-violence and truth.

I COULD not live for a single second without religion. Many of my political friends despair of me because they say that even my politics are derived from religion. And they are right. My politics and all other activities of mine are derived from my religion. I go further and say that every activity of a man of religion must be derived from his religion, because religion means being bound to God, that is to say God rules your every breath.

FOR ME, politics bereft of religion are absolute dirt, ever to be shunned. Politics concern nations and that which concerns the welfare of nations must be one of the concerns of a man who is religiously inclined, in other words a seeker after God and Truth. For me God and Truth are convertible terms, and if anyone told me that God was a God of untruth or a God of torture I would decline to worship Him. Therefore, in politics also we have to establish the Kingdom of Heaven.

I COULD NOT be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing'.

I DO NOT regard politics as something different in kind from other national activities. The root meaning of politics is science of citizenship and it has also a remote connexion with polished manners; and since boundaries of citizenship have been extended as to cover continents, the science of politics includes the attainment of the advancement of humanity along all lines, social, moral, economic and political, using the word political here in the narrow sense in which we are accustomed to use it.

INDEED religion should pervade every one of our actions. Here religion does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. It is not less real because it is unseen. This religion transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. It does not supersede them. It harmonizes them and gives them reality.

14. The Gospel of Love

SCIENTISTS TELL us that without the presence of the cohesive force amongst the atoms that comprise this globe of ours, it would crumble to pieces and we would cease to exist; and even as there is cohesive force in blind matter, so must there be in all things animate and the name for that cohesive force among animate beings is Love. We notice it between father and son, between brother and sister, friend and friend. But we have to learn to use that force among all that lives, and in the use of it consists our knowledge of God. Where there is love there is life; hatred leads to destruction.

I HAVE found that life persists in the midst of destruction and, therefore, there must be a higher law than that of destruction. Only under that law would a well-ordered society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Wherever there are jars, wherever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love. In this crude manner, I have worked it out in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered as the law of destruction has never done.

I BELIEVE that the sum total of the energy of mankind is not to bring us down but to lift us up, and that is the result of the definite, if unconscious, working of the law of love. The fact that mankind persists shows that the cohesive force is greater than the disruptive force, centripetal force greater than centrifugal.

IF LOVE or non-violence be not the law of our being,... there is no escape from a periodical recrudescence of war, each succeeding one outdoing the preceding one in ferocity.

ALL THE TEACHERS that ever lived have preached that law with more or less vigour. If Love was not the law of life, life would not have persisted in the midst of death. Life is a perpetual triumph over the grave. If there is a fundamental distinction between man and beast, it is the former's progressive recognition of the law and its application in practice to his own personal life. All the saints of the world, ancient and modern, were each according to his light and capacity a living illustration of that supreme Law of our Being. That the brute in us seems so often to gain an easy triumph is true enough. That, however, does not disprove the law. It shows the difficulty of practice. How should it be otherwise with a law which is as high as truth itself? When the practice of the law becomes universal, God will reign on earth as He does in Heaven. I need not be reminded that earth and Heaven are in us. We know the earth, we are strangers to the Heaven within us. If it is allowed that for some the practice of love is possible, it is arrogance not to allow even the possibility of its practice in all the others. Not very remote ancestors of ours indulged in cannibalism and many other practices which we would today call loathsome. No doubt in those days too there were Dick Sheppards who must have been laughed at and possibly pilloried for preaching the (to them) strange doctrine of refusing to eat fellow men.

THE SAFEST rule of conduct is to claim kinship when we want to do service, and not to insist on kinship when we want to assert a right. Indeed, I have applied this rule of life, which I call the golden rule of conduct, to the inter-provincial relations in India....I know no other method of preserving sweet relations in human affairs and I am fortified in my conclusion by an experience extending over a long period of years that, wherever there is an interruption in the observance of this golden rule, there have been bickerings, quarrels and even breaking of heads.

I HAVE known no distinction between relatives and strangers, countrymen and foreigners, white and coloured, Hindus and Indians of other faiths, whether Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians or Jews. I may say that my heart has been incapable of making any such distinctions. I cannot claim this as a special virtue, as it is in my very nature, rather than a result of any effort on my part, whereas in the case of *ahimsa* (non-violence), *brahmacharya* (celibacy), *aparigraha* (non-possession) and other cardinal virtues, I am fully conscious of a continuous striving for their cultivation.

BRUTE FORCE has been the ruling factor in the world for thousands of years, and mankind has been reaping its bitter harvest all along, as he who runs may read. There is little hope of anything good coming out of it in the future. If light came out of darkness, then alone can love emerge from hatred.

IF I could popularize the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in place of brute-force, I know I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering, and present it for acceptance to those who care, and if I take part in any other activity, the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law.

Every moment of my life I realize that God is putting me on my trial.

Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man, and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that, if not in this birth, in some other birth, I shall be able to hug all humanity in friendly embrace.

Do not seek to protect me. The Most High is always there to protect us all. You may be sure that when my time is up, no one, not even the most renowned in the world, can stand between Him and me.

If you want my service, do not disown me: come and understand everything from me. You must know that it is against my creed to punish even a murderer, a thief or a dacoit.

Penances with me are no mechanical acts. They are done in obedience to the inner voice....I must be true to my Maker, and the moment I feel that life is insupportable for me, I hope not to be found wanting. What better reparation can I do than willing surrender of the body that has ceased to evoke response and may be a hindrance to the discovery of the true way?

It is perfectly true, I must admit it in all humility, that however indifferently it may be, I endeavour to represent love in every fibre of my being. I am impatient to realize the presence of my Maker, who to me embodies Truth, and in the early part of my career I discovered that if I was to realize Truth, I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of Love. And having been blessed with children, I discovered that the law of Love could be best understood and learned through little children. Were it not for us, their ignorant poor parents, our children would be perfectly innocent. I believe implicitly that the child is not born mischievous in the bad sense of the term. If parents would behave themselves whilst the child is growing, before it is born and after, it is a well-known fact that the child would instinctively obey the law of Truth and the law of Love. And when I understood this lesson in the early part of my life, I began a gradual but distinct change in life.

I do not propose to describe to you the several phases through which this stormy life of mine has passed; but I can only, in truth and in perfect humility, bear witness to the fact that to the extent that I have represented Love in my life, in thought, word, and deed, I have realized the 'Peace that passeth understanding'. I have baffled many of my friends when they have noticed in me peace that they have envied, and they have asked me for the cause of that priceless possession. I have not been able to explain the cause save by saying that if my friends found that peace in me, it was due to an attempt to obey this, the greatest law of our being.

Believe me, from my experience of hundreds, I was going to say thousands, of children, I know that they have perhaps a finer sense of honour than you and I have. The greatest lessons in life, if we would but stoop and humble ourselves, we would learn not from grown-up learned men, but from the so-called ignorant children. Jesus never uttered a loftier or a grander truth than when he said that wisdom cometh out of the mouths of babes. I believe it. I have noticed it in my own experience that if we would approach babes in humility and in innocence, we would learn wisdom from them.

I HAVE LEARNED this one lesson—that what is impossible with man is child's play with God and if we have faith in that Divinity which presides on the destiny of the meanest of His creation, I have no doubt that all things are possible; and in that final hope I live and pass my time and endeavour to obey His will.

IF WE are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children; and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have to struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which, consciously or unconsciously, the whole world is hungering.

I AM TRYING every moment of my life to be guided by *ahimsa,* by love. I am essentially a lover of peace. I do not want to create dissensions. And I assure those who oppose me that I shall not do a single thing which I know may be contrary to truth and love.

I HAVE that implicit faith in my mission that, if it succeeds—as it will succeed, it is bound to succeed—history will record it as a movement designed to knit all people in the world together, not as hostile to one another but as parts of one whole.

WE ARE LIVING in times when values are undergoing quick changes. We are not satisfied with slow results. We are not satisfied with the welfare merely of our own caste-fellows, not even of our own country. We feel or want to feel for the whole of humanity. All this is a tremendous gain in humanity's search towards its goal.

THERE IS no distrust of men and mankind in me. They will answer before God, so why should I worry? But where my own mission is concerned my thought is active, and I try to wish everyone well in spite of doubts and mistrust. I will suffer the agony if that is to be my lot. But I may not unnerve myself while I can struggle against evil.

WE MUST WIDEN the circle of our love till it embraces the whole village; the village in its turn must take into its fold the district, the district the province, and so on till the scope of our love becomes coterminous with the world.

I HAVE no weapon but love to wield authority over anyone.

MY GOAL is friendship with the world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong.

I REFUSE to suspect human nature. It will, is bound to, respond to any noble and friendly action.

WHERE I cannot help, I must resolutely refuse to hinder.

LOVE NEVER CLAIMS, it ever gives. Love ever suffers, never resents, never revenges itself.

WHERE LOVE IS, there God is also.

Cooperation, The Law of Human Beings

NOT KILLING COMPETITION, but life-giving cooperation, is the law of the human being. Ignoring the emotion is to forget that man has feelings. Not the good of the few, not even good of the many, but it is the good of all that we are made to promote, if we are 'made in His own image'.

My CENTRAL AIM is equal treatment for the whole of humanity and that equal treatment means equality of service.

For, THOUGH they [men] are not all of the same age, the same height, the same skin, and the same intellect, these inequalities are temporary and superficial, the soul that is hidden beneath this earthly crust is one and the same for all men and women belonging to all climes.... There is a real and substantial unity in all the variety that we see around us. The word 'inequality' has a bad odour about it, and it has led to arrogance and inhumanities, both in the East and the West. What is true about men is also true about nations, which are but groups of men. The false and rigid doctrine of inequality has led to the insolent exploitation of the nations of Asia and Africa. Who knows that the present ability of the West to prey upon the East is a sign of Western superiority and Eastern inferiority?

THE FORMS are many, but the informing spirit is one. How can there be room for distinctions of high and low where there is this all-embracing fundamental unity underlying the outward diversity? For that is a fact meeting you at every step in daily life. The final goal of all religions is to realize this essential oneness.

Mutual Toleration

THE GOLDEN RULE of conduct...is mutual toleration, seeing that we will never all think alike and we shall always see Truth in fragment and from different angles of vision. Conscience is not the same thing for all. Whilst, therefore, it is a good guide for individual conduct, imposition of that conduct upon all will be an insufferable interference with everybody's freedom of conscience....Even amongst the most conscientious persons, there will be room enough for honest differences of opinion. The only possible rule of conduct in any civilized society is, therefore, mutual toleration.

My appeal to you is to cleanse your hearts and to have charity. Make your hearts as broad as the ocean....Do not judge others lest you be judged. There is that supreme Judge who can hang you, but He leaves you alive. There are so many enemies within you and around you, but He protects and looks upon you with a kindly eye.

Forgiveness is a quality of the soul, and therefore, a positive quality. It is not negative. 'Conquer anger', says Lord Buddha, 'by non-anger.' But what is that 'non-anger'? It is a positive quality and means the supreme virtue of charity or love. You must be roused to this supreme virtue which must express itself in your going to the angry man, ascertaining from him the cause of his anger, making amends if you have any cause for offence and then bringing home to him the error of his way and convincing him that it is wrong to be provoked. This consciousness of the quality of the soul, and deliberate exercise of it, elevate not only the man but the surrounding atmosphere. Of course, only he who has that love will exercise it. This love can certainly be cultivated by incessant striving.

What is true of individuals is true of nations. One cannot forgive too much. The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.

I am no Communalist

I have the same love for the Mussalman as for the Hindu. My heart feels for the Mussalman as much as for the Hindu. If I could tear it open, you would discover there are no compartments in it, one reserved for the Hindu, another for the Mussalman and so on.

In trying to explore the hidden treasures of ancient culture, I have come upon this inestimable boon that all that is permanent in ancient Hindu culture is also to be found in the teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Muhammad and Zoroaster.

If not during my life-time, I know that after my death both Hindus and Mussalmans will bear witness that I had never ceased to yearn after communal peace.

[Hindu-Muslim unity] has been my passion from early youth. I count some of the noblest of Muslims as my friends. I have a devout daughter of Islam as more than daughter to me. She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it. I had the son of the late Muezzin of the Juma Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram.

15. The Gospel of Faith

There are subjects where reason cannot take us far and we have to accept things on faith. Faith then does not contradict reason but transcends it. Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the purview of reason.

It is faith that steers us through stormy seas, faith that moves mountains and faith that jumps across the ocean. That faith is nothing but a living, wide-awake consciousness of God within. He who has achieved that faith wants nothing. Bodily diseased, he is spiritually healthy; physically poor, he rolls in spiritual riches.

WITHOUT FAITH this world would come to naught in a moment. True faith is appropriation of the reasoned experience of people whom we believe to have lived a life purified by prayer and penance. Belief, therefore, in prophets or incarnations who have lived in remote ages is not an idle superstition but a satisfaction of an inmost spiritual want.

FAITH is not a delicate flower which would wither under the slightest stormy weather. Faith is like the Himalaya mountains which cannot possibly change. No storm can possibly remove the Himalaya mountains from their foundations....And I want every one of you to cultivate that faith in God and religion.

THIS MAY be considered to be quixotic, but it is my firm faith that he who undertakes to do something in the name of God and in full faith in Him, even at the end of his days, does not work in vain; and I am sure that the work I have undertaken is not mine, but is God's.

All Religions are True

THE POLITICIAN in me has never dominated a single decision of mine, and if I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics encircle us today like the coil of a snake from which one cannot get out, no matter how much one tries. I wish, therefore, to wrestle with the snake, as I have been doing with more or less success consciously since 1894, unconsciously, as I have now discovered, ever since reaching years of discretion. Quite selfishly, as I wish to live in peace in the midst of a bellowing storm howling round me, I have been experimenting with myself and my friends by introducing religion into politics. Let me explain what I mean by religion. It is not the Hindu religion which I certainly prize above all other religions, but the religion which transcends Hinduism, which changes one's very nature, which binds one indissolubly to the truth within and which ever purifies. It is the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself.

Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour.

I claim to be a humble servant of India and humanity, and would like to die in the discharge of such service. I have no desire to found a sect. I am really too ambitious to be satisfied with a sect for a following, for I represent no new truths. I endeavour to follow and represent Truth as I know it. I do claim to throw a new light on many an old truth.

There is undoubtedly a sense in which the statement is true when I say that I hold my religion dearer than my country and that, therefore, I am a Hindu first and nationalist after. I do not become on that score less a nationalist than the best of them. I simply thereby imply that the interests of my country are identical with those of my religion. Similarly when I say that I prize my own salvation above everything else, above the salvation of India, it does not mean that my personal salvation requires a sacrifice of India's political or any other salvation. But it implies necessarily that the two go together.

I do not share the belief that there can or will be on earth one religion. I am striving, therefore, to find a common factor and to induce mutual tolerance.

I have abundant faith in my cause and humanity. Indian humanity is no worse than any other; possibly it is better. Indeed, the cause presumes faith in human nature. Dark though the path appears, God will light it and guide my steps, if I have faith in His guidance and humility enough to acknowledge my helplessness without that infallible guidance.

There is nothing in the world that would keep me from professing Christianity or any other faith, the moment I felt the truth of and the need for it. Where there is fear there is no religion....If I could call myself, say a Christian, or a Mussalman, with my own interpretation of the Bible or the Koran, I should not hesitate to call myself either. For then Hindu, Christian and Mussalman would be synonymous terms. I do believe that in the other world there are neither Hindus, nor Christians nor Mussalmans. There all are judged not according to their labels, or professions, but according to their actions, irrespective of their professions. During our earthly existence there will always be labels. I, therefore, prefer to retain the label of my forefathers so long as it does not cramp my growth and does not debar me from assimilating all that is good anywhere else.

I believe that all the great religions of the world are true more or less. I say 'more or less' because I believe that everything that the human hand touches, by reason of the very fact that human beings are imperfect, becomes imperfect. Perfection is the exclusive attribute of God and it is undescribable, untranslatable. I do believe that it is possible for every human being to become perfect even as God is perfect. It is necessary for us all to aspire after perfection, but when that blessed state is attained, it becomes indescribable, indefinable. And, I, therefore, admit, in all humility, that even the Vedas, the Koran and the Bible are imperfect word of God and, imperfect beings that we are, swayed to and fro by a multitude of passions, it is impossible for us even to understand this word of God in its fulness.

I KNOW that friends get confused when I say I am a Sanatanist Hindu and they fail to find in me things they associate with a man usually labelled as such. But that is because in spite of my being a staunch Hindu I find room in my faith for Christian and Islamic and Zoroastrian teaching, and, therefore, my Hinduism *seems* to some to be a conglomeration and some have even dubbed me an eclectic. Well, to call a man eclectic is to say that he has no faith, but mine is a broad faith which does not oppose Christians—not even a Plymouth Brother—not even the most fanatical Mussalman. It is a faith based on the broadest possible toleration. I refuse to abuse a man for his fanatical deeds, because I try to see them from his point of view. It is that broad faith that sustains me. It is a somewhat embarrassing position I know—but to others, not to me!

I SHOULD love all the men—not only in India but in the world—belonging to the different faiths, to become better people by contact with one another, and if that happens the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today. I plead for the broadest toleration, and I am working to that end. I ask people to examine every religion from the point of the religionists themselves. I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, i.e. to be wholly Hindu, or wholly Christian, or wholly Mussalman, but I want it to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another.

I HAVE not been able to see any difference between the Sermon on the Mount and the *Bhagavad Gita.* What the

Sermon describes in a graphic manner, the *Bhagavad Gita* reduces to a scientific formula. It may not be a scientific book in the accepted sense of the term, but it has argued out the law of love—the law of abandon as I would call it—in a scientific manner. The Sermon on the Mount gives the same law in wonderful language. The New Testament gave me comfort and boundless joy, as it came after the repulsion that parts of the Old had given me. Today supposing I was deprived of the *Gita* and forgot all its contents but had a copy of the Sermon, I should derive the same joy from it as I do from the *Gita*.

THERE is one thing in me, and that is that I love to see the bright side of things and not the seamy side, and so I can derive comfort and inspiration from any great book of any great religion. I may not be able to reproduce a single verse from the *Gita* or the New Testament; a Hindu child or Christian child may be able to repeat the verses better; but those clever children cannot deprive me of the assimilation that is in me today of the spirit of the two books.

I CAME to the conclusion long ago, after prayerful search and study and discussion with as many people as I could meet, that all religions were true and also that all had some error in them, and that whilst I hold by my own, I should hold others as dear as Hinduism, from which it logically follows that we should hold all as dear as our nearest kith and kin and that we should make no distinction between them.

HINDUISM with its message of *ahimsa* is to me the most glorious religion in the world—as my wife to me is the most beautiful woman in the world—but others may feel the same about their own religion.

Belief in one God is the corner-stone of all religions. But I do not foresee a time when there would be only one religion on earth in practice. In theory, since there is one God, there can be only one religion. But in practice, no two persons I have known have had the same identical conception of God. Therefore, there will, perhaps, always be different religions answering to different temperaments and climatic conditions.

I believe in the fundamental truth of all great religions of the world. I believe that they are all God-given, and I believe that they were necessary for the people to whom these religions were revealed. And I believe that, if only we could all of us read the scriptures of the different faiths from the standpoint of the followers of those faiths, we should find that they were at the bottom all one and were all helpful to one another.

I have a deep conviction that no religion can be sustained by brute force. On the contrary those who take the sword always perish by the sword.

Religions like nations, are being weighed in the balance. That religion and that nation will be blotted out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice, untruth, or violence.

In reality there are as many religions as there are individuals.

Religions are different roads converging upon the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads, so long as we reach the same goal?

By religion, I do not mean formal religion, or customary religion, but that religion which underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker.

Limitations of Reason

Experience has humbled me enough to let me realize the specific limitations of reason. Just as matter misplaced becomes dirt, reason misused becomes lunacy.

Rationalists are admirable beings, rationalism is a hideous monster when it claims for itself omnipotence. Attribution of omnipotence to reason is as bad a piece of idolatry as is worship of stock and stone believing it to be God.

I plead not for the suppression of reason but for a due recognition of that in us which sanctifies reason itself.

To me it is as plain as a pike-staff, that where there is an appeal to reason pure and undefiled, there should be no appeal to authority however great it may be.

I believe I have no superstition in me. Truth is not truth merely because it is ancient. Nor is it necessarily to be regarded with suspicion, because it is ancient. There are some fundamentals of life which may not be lightly given up because they are difficult of enforcement in one's life.

For me the Vedas are divine and unwritten. 'The letter killeth.' It is the spirit that giveth the light. And the spirit of the Vedas is purity, truth, innocence, chastity, simplicity, forgiveness, godliness, and all that makes a man or woman noble and brave.

I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas. I believe the Bible, the Koran and the Zend Avesta, to be as much divinely inspired as the Vedas. My belief in the Hindu scriptures does not require me to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired. . . . I decline to be bound by an interpretation, however learned it may be, if it is repugnant to reason or moral sense.

I AM not a literalist. Therefore, I try to understand the spirit of the various scriptures of the world. I apply the test of Truth and *ahimsa* laid down by these very scriptures for interpretation. I reject what is inconsistent with that test, and appropriate all that is consistent with it.

ONE'S EXPERIENCE, therefore, must be the final guide. The written word undoubtedly helps, but even that has to be interpreted, and when there are conflicting interpretations, the seeker is the final arbiter.

THERE IS no such thing as absolute morality for all times. But there is a relative morality which is absolute enough for imperfect mortals that we are. Thus, it is absolutely immoral to drink spirituous liquors except as medicine, in medicinal doses and under medical advice. Similarly, it is absolutely wrong to see lustfully any woman other than one's wife. Both these positions have been proved by cold reason. Counter-arguments have always been advanced. They have been advanced against the very existence of God—the Sum of all that Is. Faith that transcends reason is our only Rock of Ages. My faith has saved me and is still saving me from pitfalls. It has never betrayed me. It has never been known to betray anyone.

16. My Hinduism is not Exclusive

FOR ME Hinduism is all-sufficing. Every variety of belief finds protection under its ample fold.

I CAN no more describe my feelings for Hinduism than for my own wife. She moves me as no other woman in the world can. Not that she has no faults; I dare say she has many more than I see myself. But the feeling of an indescribable bond is there. Even so I feel for and about Hinduism with all its faults and limitations.

HINDUISM IS not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets in the world. It is not a missionary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been of an evolutionary, imperceptible character. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith or *dharma* and so it lives at peace with all the religions.

THE MOST distinctive and the largest contribution of Hinduism to India's culture is the doctrine of *ahimsa*. It has given a definite bias to the history of the country for the last three thousand years and over and it has not ceased to be a living force in the lives of India's millions even today. It is a growing doctrine, its message is still being delivered. Its teaching has so far permeated our people that an armed revolution has almost become an impossibility in India not because, as some would have it, we as a race are physically weak, for it does not require much physical strength so much as a devilish will to press a trigger to shoot a person, but because the tradition of *ahimsa* has struck deep root among the people.

THE CHIEF value of Hinduism lies in holding the actual belief that ALL life (not only human beings, but all sentient beings) is one, i.e. all life coming from the One universal source, call it Allah, God or Parameshwara.

MY HINDUISM is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism....Truth is my religion and *ahimsa* is the only way of its realization. I have rejected once and for all the doctrine of the sword.

Mother Gita

I DO not believe that the *Gita* teaches violence for doing good. It is pre-eminently a description of the duel that goes on in our own hearts. The divine author has used a historical incident for inculcating the lesson of doing one's duty even at the peril of one's life. It inculcates performance of duty irrespective of the consequences, for we mortals, limited by our physical frames, are incapable of controlling actions, save our own. The *Gita* distinguishes between the powers of light and darkness and demonstrates their incompatibility.

AS FOR MYSELF, I run to my *Mother Gita* whenever I find myself in difficulties, and up to now she has never failed to comfort me. It is possible that those who are getting comfort from the *Gita* may get greater help, and see something altogether new, if they come to know the way in which I understand it from day to day.

THOUGH I admire much in Christianity, I am unable to identify myself with orthodox Christianity....Hinduism as I know it entirely satisfies my soul, fills my whole being, and I find a solace in the *Bhagavad Gita* and Upanishads that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount. Not that I do not prize the ideal presented therein; not that some of the precious teachings in the Sermon on the Mount have not left a deep impression upon me, but I must confess...that when doubt haunts me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to the *Bhagavad Gita,* and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of overwhelming sorrow. My life has been full of external tragedies, and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita.*

TODAY THE *Gita* is not only my Bible or my Koran; it is more than that—it is my mother. I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago; but this eternal mother has completely filled her place by my side ever since. She has never changed, she has never failed me. When I am in difficulty or distress, I seek refuge in her bosom.

What Christ Means to Me

It is my firm opinion that Europe today represents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is today only nominally Christian. It is really worshipping Mammon. 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom.' Thus really spoke Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possessions.

The indirect influence of Christianity has been to quicken Hinduism into life....But the effect of Christianity upon India in general must be judged by the life lived in our midst by the average Christian and its effect upon us. I am sorry to have to record my opinion that it has been disastrous.

I may say that I have never been interested in a historical Jesus. I should not care if it was proved by someone that the man called Jesus never lived, and that [what] was narrated in the Gospels was a figment of the writer's imagination. For the Sermon on the Mount would still be true for me.

I cannot ascribe exclusive divinity to Jesus. He is as divine as Krishna or Rama or Muhammad or Zoroaster. Similarly I do not regard every word of the Bible as the inspired word of God even as I do not regard every word of the Vedas or the Koran as inspired. The sum total of each of these books is certainly inspired, but I miss that inspiration in many of the things taken individually. The Bible is as much a book of religion with me as the *Gita* and the Koran.

THOUGH I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions, worldly and temporal.

WHAT...does Jesus mean to me? To me, He was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had. To His believers, He was God's only begotten Son. Could the fact that I do or do not accept this belief make Jesus have any more or less influence in my life? Is all the grandeur of His teaching and of His doctrine to be forbidden to me? I cannot believe so.

TO ME it [the word 'begotten'] implies a spiritual birth. My interpretation, in other words, is that in Jesus' own life is the key of His nearness to God; that He expressed, as no other could, the spirit and will of God. It is in this sense that I see Him and recognize Him as the Son of God.

I BELIEVE that it is impossible to estimate the merits of the various religions of the world, and, moreover, I believe that it is unnecessary and harmful even to attempt it. But each one of them, in my judgement, embodies a common motivating force: the desire to uplift man's life and give it purpose. And because the life of Jesus has the significance and the transcendency to which I have alluded, I believe that He belongs not solely to Christianity, but to the entire world, to all races and people—it matters little under what flag, name or doctrine they may work, profess a faith, or worship a God inherited from their ancestors.

The Way of the Buddha

It is my deliberate opinion that the essential part of the teachings of the Buddha now forms an integral part of Hinduism. It is impossible for Hindu India today to retrace her steps and go behind the great reformation that Gautama effected in Hinduism. By his immense sacrifice, by his great renunciation, and by the immaculate purity of his life he left an indelible impress upon Hinduism and Hinduism owes an eternal debt of gratitude to that great teacher. What Hinduism did not assimilate of what passes as Buddhism today was not an essential part of Buddha's life and his teachings.

It is my fixed opinion that Buddhism or rather the teaching of Buddha found its full fruition in India and it could not be otherwise, for Gautama was himself a Hindu of Hindus. He was saturated with the best that was in Hinduism, and he gave life to some of the teachings that were buried in the Vedas and which were overgrown with weeds. His great Hindu spirit cut its way through the forest of words, meaningless words, which had overlaid the golden truth that was in the Vedas. He made some of the words in the Vedas yield a meaning to which the men of his generation were utter strangers, and he found in India the most congenial soil. And wherever the Buddha went, he was followed by and surrounded not by non-Hindus but Hindus, those who were themselves saturated with Vedic law. But the Buddha's teaching like his heart was all-expanding and all-embracing and so it has survived his own body and swept across the face of the earth. And at the risk of being called a follower of Buddha I claim this achievement as a triumph of Hinduism. Buddha never rejected Hinduism, but he broadened its base. He gave it a new life and a new interpretation. But...I want to submit to you that the teaching of Buddha was not assimilated in its fulness whether it was in Ceylon, or in Burma, or in China or in Tibet.

My Hinduism is not Exclusive

I HAVE heard it contended times without number and I have read in books also claiming to express the spirit of Buddhism that Buddha did not believe in God. In my humble opinion such a belief contradicts the very central fact of Buddha's teaching....The confusion has arisen over his rejection and just rejection of all the base things that passed in his generation under the name of God. He undoubtedly rejected the notion that a being called God was actuated by malice, could repent of his actions, and like the kings of the earth could possibly be open to temptations and bribes and could possibly have favourites. His whole soul rose in mighty indignation against the belief that a being called God required for his satisfaction the living blood of animals in order that he might be pleased—animals who were his own creation. He, therefore, reinstated God in the right place and dethroned the usurper who for the time being seemed to occupy that White Throne. He emphasized and redeclared the eternal and unalterable existence of the moral government of this universe. He unhesitatingly said that the law was God Himself.

GOD'S LAWS are eternal and unalterable and not separable from God Himself. It is an indispensable condition of His very perfection. And hence the great confusion that Buddha disbelieved in God and simply believed in the moral law, and because of this confusion about God Himself, arose the confusion about the proper understanding of the great word *nirvana*. *Nirvana* is undoubtedly not utter extinction. So far as I have been able to understand the central fact of Buddha's life *nirvana* is utter extinction of all that is base in us, all that is vicious in us, all that is corrupt and corruptible in us. *Nirvana* is not like the black, dead peace of the grave, but the living peace, the living happiness of a soul which is conscious of itself, and conscious of having found its own abode in the heart of the Eternal.

Great as Buddha's contribution to humanity was in restoring God to His eternal place, in my humble opinion, greater still was his contribution to humanity in his exacting regard of all life, be it ever so low.

Islam a Religion of Peace

I DO regard Islam to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are. No doubt there are differences in degrees, but the object of these religions is peace.

I HAVE given my opinion that the followers of Islam are too free with the sword. But that is not due to the teaching of the Koran. This is due, in my opinion, to the environment in which Islam was born. Christianity has a bloody record against it not because Jesus was found wanting, but because the environment in which it spread was not responsive to his lofty teaching.

THERE IS nothing in the Koran to warrant the use of force for conversion. The Holy Book says in the clearest language possible, 'There is no compulsion in religion'. The Prophet's whole life is a repudiation of compulsion in religion. No Mussalman, to my knowledge, has ever approved of compulsion. Islam would cease to be a world religion if it were to rely upon force for its propagation.

ISLAM'S distinctive contribution to India's national culture is its unadulterated belief in the oneness of God and a practical application of the truth of the brotherhood of man for those who are nominally within its fold. I call these two distinctive contributions. For in Hinduism the spirit of brotherhood has become too much philosophized. Similarly though philosophical Hinduism has no other god but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising as Islam.

17. The Curse of Untouchability

I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable, so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings, and the affronts levelled at them, in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition. I, therefore, prayed that, if I should be born again, I should do so not as a Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, or Shudra, but as an Atishudra.

Love of the people brought the problem of untouchability early into my life. My mother said, 'You must not touch this boy, he is an untouchable'. 'Why not?' I questioned back, and from that day my revolt began.

I was wedded to the work for the extinction of 'untouchability' long before I was wedded to my wife. There were two occasions in our joint life when there was a choice between working for the untouchables and remaining with my wife and I would have preferred the first. But thanks to my good wife, the crisis was averted. In my Ashram, which is my family, I have several untouchables and a sweet but naughty girl living as my own daughter.

Swaraj is a meaningless term, if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purifying movement, but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves, we may not plead before the throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

I would far rather that Hinduism died than that untouchability lived.

In battling against untouchability and in dedicating myself to that battle, I have no less an ambition than to see a complete regeneration of humanity. It may be a mere dream, as unreal as the silver in the sea-shell. It is not so to me while the dream lasts, and in the words of Romain Rolland, 'Victory lies not in realization of the goal, but in a relentless pursuit after it'.

Caste & Varna

. . . I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap on progress. Nor, do I believe in inequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence, it is a mental state. We need to think of, and to assert, equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realize equality in the midst of this apparent external inequality. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man. Thus caste, in so far as it connotes distinctions in status, is an evil.

I do, however, believe in *varna* which is based on hereditary occupations. *Varnas* are four to mark four universal occupations,—imparting knowledge, defending the defenceless, carrying on agriculture and commerce, and performing service through physical labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hinduism having recognized them as the law of our being, has made use of it in regulating social relations and conduct. Gravitation affects us all, whether one knows its existence or not. But scientists who knew the law have made it yield results that have startled the world. Even so, has Hinduism startled the world by its discovery and application of the law of *varna*. When Hindus were seized with inertia, abuse of *varna* resulted in innumerable castes, with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to inter-marriage and inter-dining. The *varna* has nothing to do with these restrictions. People of different *varnas* may inter-marry and inter-dine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of chastity and hygiene. But a *Brahmin* who marries a *Shudra* girl, or vice versa, commits no offence against the law of *varna*.

CASTE DISTINCTIONS have taken such deep root amongst us that they have also infected the Muslims, Christians and followers of other religions in India. It is true that class barriers are also to be found in more or less degree in other parts of the world. This means that it is a distemper common to the human race. It can be eliminated only by the inculcation of religion in its true sense. I have not found sanction for such barriers and distinctions in the scriptures of any religion.

In the eye of religion all men are equal. Learning, intellect or riches do not entitle one to claim superiority over those who are lacking in these. If any person is suffused and sanctified with the purifying essence and the discipline of true religion he regards himself under the obligation to share his advantages with those who have fewer. That being so, in our present fallen state true religion requires us all to become Atishudras by choice.

WE MUST regard ourselves not as owners, but as trustees of our wealth, and use it for the service of society, taking for ourselves no more than a fair return for service rendered. Under this system there would be none poor, none rich. All religions would be held equal. All quarrels arising out of religion, caste or economic grievance would cease to disturb peace on earth.

common place of worship appear to be a human necessity. Whether the temples should contain images or not is a matter of temperament and taste. I do not regard a Hindu or a Roman Catholic place of worship containing images as necessarily bad or superstitious and a mosque or a Protestant place of worship being good or free of superstition merely because of their exclusion of images. A symbol such as a Cross or a book may easily become idolatrous, and, therefore, superstitious. And the worship of the image of Child Krishna or Virgin Mary may become ennobling and free of all superstition. It depends upon the attitude of the heart of the worshipper.

PLACES OF WORSHIP to me are not merely brick and mortar. They are but a shadow of the reality. Against every church and every mosque and every temple destroyed, hundreds have risen in their places.

I KNOW of no religion or sect that has done or is doing without its house of God, variously described as a temple, mosque, church, synagogue or agiary. Nor is it certain that any of the great reformers including Jesus destroyed or discarded temples altogether. All of them sought to banish corruption from temples as well as from society ....I have ceased to visit temples for years, but I do not regard myself on that account as a better person than before. My mother never missed going to the temple when she was in a fit state to go there. Probably her faith was far greater than mine, though I do not visit temples.

TEMPLES or mosques or churches...I make no distinction between these different abodes of God. They are what faith has made them. They are an answer to man's craving somehow to reach the UNSEEN.

19. My Fasts

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray.

They [fasts] are a part of my being. I can as well do without my eyes, for instance, as I can without fasts. What the eyes are for the outer world, fasts are for the inner.

In my opinion fasting for purification of self and others is an age-long institution and it will subsist so long as man believes in God. It is prayer to the Almighty from an anguished heart....My life has thus been made up of numerous occasions of fasting. It is the sincerest form of prayer.

I believe that there is no prayer without fasting, and there is no real fast without prayer.

A complete fast is a complete and literal denial of self. It is the truest prayer. 'Take my life and let it be always, only, all for Thee' is not, should not be, a mere lip or figurative expression. It has to be reckless and joyous giving without the least reservation. Abstention from food and even water is but the mere beginning, the least part of the surrender.

Fasting, unless it is the result of God's grace, is useless starvation, if not much worse.

Mortification of the flesh is a necessity when the flesh rebels against one; it is a sin when the flesh has come under subjection and can be used as an instrument of service. In other words, there is no inherent merit in mortification of the flesh.

THERE IS something in denying satisfaction of the flesh. It is not possible to see God face to face unless you crucify the flesh. It is one thing to do what belongs to it as a temple of God, and it is another to deny it what belongs to it as the body of flesh.

OUT OF the fulness of my own experience and that of fellow cranks, I say without hesitation, fast (1) if you are constipated, (2) if you are anaemic, (3) if you are feverish, (4) if you have indigestion, (5) if you have a head-ache, (6) if you are rheumatic, (7) if you are gouty, (8) if you are fretting and fuming, (9) if you are depressed, (10) if you are overjoyed, and you will avoid medical prescriptions and patent medicines.

FASTING CAN only be resorted to against a lover, not to extort rights but to reform him, as when a son fasts for a father who drinks. My fast at Bombay and then at Bardoli was of that character. I fasted to reform those who loved me. But I will not fast to reform say, General Dyer, who not only does not love me, but who regards himself as my enemy.

I AM not responsible for these fasts. I do not undertake them for my amusement. I would not torture the flesh for the love of fame. Though I bear joyfully the pangs of hunger and many other discomforts of fasting, let no one imagine that I do not suffer. These fasts are bearable only because they are imposed upon me by a higher Power and the capacity to bear the pain also comes from that Power.

THE WEAPON of fasting, I know, cannot be lightly wielded. It can easily savour of violence unless it is used by one skilled in the art. I claim to be such an artist in this subject.

LIKE ALL human institutions, fasting can be both legitimately and illegitimately used. But as a great weapon in the armoury of *satyagraha,* it cannot be given up because of its possible abuse.

20. The Gospel of Fearlessness

FEARLESSNESS is the first requisite of spirituality. Cowards can never be moral.

WHERE THERE is fear there is no religion.

EVERY READER of the *Gita* is aware that fearlessness heads the list of the Divine Attributes enumerated in the 16th Chapter. Whether this is merely due to the exigencies of metre, or whether the pride of place has been deliberately yielded to fearlessness is more than I can say. In my opinion, however, fearlessness fully deserves the first rank assigned to it there, perhaps, by accident. Fearlessness is a *sine qua non* for the growth of the other noble qualities. How can one seek truth or cherish Love without fearlessness? As Pritam has it, 'The Path of Hari (the Lord) is the path of the brave, not of cowards'. Hari here means Truth, and the brave are those armed with fearlessness, not with the sword, the rifle or other carnal weapons which are affected only by cowards.

FEARLESSNESS CONNOTES freedom from all external fear—fear of disease, bodily injury or death, of dispossession, of losing one's nearest and dearest, of losing reputation or giving offence, and so on.

PERFECT FEARLESSNESS can be attained only by him who has realized the Supreme, as it implies the height of freedom from delusions. But one can always progress towards this goal by determined and constant endeavour and by increasing confidence in oneself. . . . As for the internal foes, we must ever walk in their fear. We are rightly afraid of Animal Passion, Anger and the like. External fears cease of their own accord, when once we have conquered these traitors within the camp. All fears revolve round the body as the centre, and would, therefore, disappear as soon as one got rid of the attachment for the body. We thus find that all fear is the baseless fabric of our own vision. Fear has no place in our hearts when we have shaken off the attachment for wealth, for family and for the body. *'Tena tyaktena bhunjithah'*[1] is a noble commandment. The wealth, the family and the body will be there, just the same; we have only to change our attitude to them. All these are not ours but God's. Nothing whatever in this world is ours. Even we ourselves are His. Why then should we entertain any fears? The Upanishad, therefore, directs us to give up attachment for things while we enjoy them. That is to say, we must be interested in them not as proprietors but only as trustees. He on whose behalf we hold them will give us the strength and the weapons requisite for defending them against all comers. When we thus cease to be masters and reduce ourselves to the rank of servants humbler than the very dust under our feet, all fears will roll away like mists; we shall attain ineffable peace and see *Satyanarayan* (the God of Truth) face to face.

WE STAND on the threshold of a twilight—whether morning or evening twilight we know not. One is followed by the night, the other heralds the dawn. If we want to see the dawning day after the twilight and not the mournful night, it behoves us . . . to realize the truth at this juncture, to stand for it against any odds and to preach and practise it, at any cost, unflinchingly.

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[1] 'Enjoy the things of earth by renouncing them.'

We have chosen for our march towards freedom the ancient path of truth and non-violence, and we must let God's covenant, that those who tread on the strait and narrow path shall never come to grief, inspire us with faith and hope.

In this country of self-suppression and timidity, almost bordering on cowardice, we cannot have too much bravery, too much self-sacrifice. . . . I want . . . the greater bravery of the meek, the gentle, and the non-violent, the bravery that will mount the gallows without injury, or harbouring any thought of injury to a single soul.

There is no bravery greater than a resolute refusal to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone lives, nothing else does.

Let us fear God and we shall cease to fear man.

21. The Gospel of Non-possession

When I found myself drawn into the political coil, I asked myself what was necessary for me in order to remain absolutely untouched by immorality, by untruth, by what is known as political gain . . . it was a difficult struggle in the beginning and it was a wrestle with my wife and—as I can vividly recall—with my children also. But be that as it may, I came definitely to the conclusion that, if I had to serve the people in whose midst my life was cast and of whose difficulties I was witness from day to day, I must discard all wealth, all possession. . . .

I cannot tell you with truth that, when this belief came to me, I discarded everything immediately. I must confess to you that progress at first was slow. And now, as I recall those days of struggle, I remember that it was also painful in the beginning. But, as days went by, I saw that I had to throw overboard many other things which I used to consider as mine, and a time came when it became a matter of positive joy to give up those things. And one after another then, by almost geometric progression, the things slipped away from me. And, as I am describing my experiences, I can say a great burden fell off my shoulders, and I felt that I could now walk with ease and do my work also in the service of my fellow men with great comfort and still greater joy. The possession of anything then became a troublesome thing and a burden. Exploring the cause of that joy, I found that, if I kept anything as my own, I had to defend it against the whole world. I found also that there were many people who did not have the thing, although they wanted it; and I would have to seek police assistance also if hungry famine-stricken people, finding me in a lonely place, wanted not merely to divide the thing with me but to dispossess me. And I said to myself, if they want it and would take it, they do so not from any malicious motive, but they would do it because theirs was a greater need than mine.

Our civilization, our culture, our *swaraj* depend not upon multiplying our wants—self-indulgence, but upon restricting our wants—self-denial.

We should be ashamed of resting, or having a square meal, so long as there is one able-bodied man or woman without work or food.

THE HIGHEST fulfilment of religion . . . requires a giving up of all possession. Having ascertained the law of our being, we must set about reducing it to practice to the extent of our capacity.

IT IS open to the world . . . to laugh at my dispossessing myself of all property. For me the dispossession has been a positive gain. I would like people to compete with me in my contentment. It is the richest treasure I own. Hence it is perhaps right to say that though I preach poverty, I am a rich man!

THE GOLDEN RULE . . . is resolutely to refuse to have what millions cannot. This ability to refuse will not descend upon us all of a sudden. The first thing is to cultivate the mental attitude that will not have possessions or facilities denied to millions, and the next immediate thing is to re-arrange our lives as fast as possible in accordance with that mentality.

NON-POSSESSION is allied with non-stealing. A thing not originally stolen would still have to be classified as stolen property if one continues to possess it without needing it. Possession implies provision for the future. A seeker after Truth, a follower of the Law of Love, cannot hold anything against to-morrow. God never provides for the morrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed from day to day. If, therefore, we repose faith in His Providence, we should rest assured that He will give us every day our daily bread, supplying enough that we require. . . . We are either ignorant or negligent of the divine law in virtue of which man has given to him only his daily bread and no more, with the result that there arise inequalities with all the misery attendant upon them. The rich have a superfluous store of things which they do not need and which are, therefore, neglected and wasted; while millions starve and are frozen to death for want of them. If each retained possession only of what he needed, no one would be in want and all would live in contentment. As it is, the rich are discontented no less than the poor. The poor man would become a millionaire and the millionaire a multi-millionaire. The poor are often not satisfied when they get just enough to fill their stomachs; but they are clearly entitled to it and society should make it a point to see that they get it. The rich must take an initiative in the matter with a view to a universal diffusion of the spirit of contentment. If only they keep their own property within moderate limits the poor will be easily fed, and will learn the lesson of contentment along with the rich. Perfect fulfilment of the ideal of non-possession requires that man should, like the birds, have no roof over his head, no clothing and no stock of food for the morrow. He will, indeed, need his daily bread, but it will be God's business, and not his, to provide for it. Only a very few rare souls can attain this ideal, however. We ordinary seekers can only keep it constantly in view, and in the light thereof, critically examine our property and try to reduce it every day. Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants, which promotes real happiness and contentment and increases the capacity for service. One can reduce one's wants by perseverance, and the reduction of wants makes for happiness—a healthy body and a peaceful mind. From the standpoint of pure truth, the body too is properly acquired by the soul. By means of a desire for enjoyment we have created and continue to maintain this encumbrance in the shape of the body. When this desire vanishes, there remains no further need for the body, and man is free from the vicious cycle of births and deaths. The soul is omnipresent; why should she care to be confined within the cagelike body, or do evil and even kill for the sake of that cage? We thus arrive at the ideal of total renunciation and learn to use the body for the purposes of service so long as it exists, so much so that that service and not bread becomes with us the staff of life. We eat and drink, sleep and awake for service alone. This brings us real happiness, and the beatific vision in the fulness of time. Let us all examine ourselves from this standpoint.

We should remember that non-possession is a principle applicable to thoughts as well as to things. One who fills his brain with useless knowledge violates that inestimable principle. Thoughts which turn us away from God or do not turn us towards Him constitute impediments which one must soon get rid of. In this connexion we may consider the definition of knowledge contained in the 13th Chapter of the *Gita*. We are there told that humility (*amanitvam*), etc., constitute knowledge, and all the rest is ignorance. If this is true—and there is no doubt that it is true—much that we hug today as knowledge is ignorance pure and simple and, therefore, only does us harm instead of conferring any benefit. It makes the mind wander and even reduces it to a vacuity, and discontent flourishes in endless ramifications of evil. Needless to say, this is not a plea for inertia. Every moment of our lives should be filled with activity, but that activity should be *satvika,* tending to truth. One who has consecrated his life to service cannot be idle for a single moment. But one has to learn to distinguish between good activity and evil activity. This discernment goes naturally with a single-minded devotion to service.

THEREFORE, RENOUNCE all and dedicate it to God and then live. The right of living is thus derived from renunciation. It does not say, 'When all do their part of the work I too will do it'. It says, 'Don't bother about others, do your job first and leave the rest to HIM'.

YOU MAY have occasion to possess or use material things, but the secret of life lies in never missing them.

Daridranarayan

JESUS, MUHAMMAD, Buddha, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Shankara, Dayanand, Ramakrishna were men who exercised an immense influence over and moulded the character of thousands of men. The world is the richer for their having lived in it. And they were all men who deliberately embraced poverty as their lot. . . . In so far as we have made the modern materialistic craze our goal, so far are we going down hill in the path of progress.

HOW HEAVY is the toll of sins and wrongs that wealth, power and prestige exact from man!

FOR THE poor the economic is the spiritual. You cannot make any other appeal to those starving millions. It will fall flat on them. But you take food to them and they will regard you as their God. They are incapable of any other thought.

WITH THIS very hand I have collected soiled pies from them tied tightly in their rags. Talk to them of modern progress. Insult them by taking the name of God before them in vain. They will call you and me fiends if we talk about God to them. They know, if they know any God at all, a God of terror, vengeance, a pitiless tyrant.

DARIDRANARAYAN is one of the millions of names by which humanity knows God who is unnameable and unfathomable by human understanding, and it means God of the poor, God appearing in the hearts of the poor.

I AM ABLE to restrain myself from committing suicide by starvation, only because I have faith in India's awakening, and her ability to put herself on the way to freedom from this desolating pauperism. Without faith in such a possibility I should cease to take interest in living.

22. The Gospel of Brahmacharya

HUMAN SOCIETY is a ceaseless growth, an unfoldment in terms of spirituality. If so, it must be based on ever increasing restraint upon the demands of the flesh. Thus, marriage must be considered to be a sacrament imposing discipline upon the partners, restricting them to the physical union only among themselves and for the purpose only of procreation when both the partners desire and are prepared for it.

THE IDEAL that marriage aims at is that of spiritual union through the physical. The human love that it incarnates is intended to serve as a stepping-stone to divine or universal love.

MARRIAGE is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong. . . . The ideal is to look upon marriage as a sacrament, and therefore, to lead a life of self-restraint in the married estate.

WHAT CHIEFLY distinguishes man from the beast is that man from his age of discretion begins to practise a life of continual self-restraint. God has enabled man to distinguish between the sister, his mother, his daughter and his wife.

A LARGE part of the miseries of today can be avoided, if we look at the relations between the sexes in a healthy and pure light, and regard ourselves as trustees for the moral welfare of the future generations.

I HOLD that a life of perfect continence in thought, speech and action is necessary for reaching spiritual perfection. And a nation that does not possess such men is poorer for the want.

ABSOLUTE RENUNCIATION, absolute brahmacharya, is the ideal state. If you dare not think of it, marry by all means, but even then live a life of self-control.

MANU has described the first child as *dharmaja*—born out of a sense of duty, and children born after the first as *kamaja*—carnally born. That gives in a nutshell the law of sexual relations. And what is God but the Law? and to obey God is to perform the Law.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE for the purpose of carnal satisfaction is reversion to animality, and it should, therefore, be man's endeavour to rise above it. But failure to do so as between husband and wife cannot be regarded as a sin or a matter of obloquy. Millions in this world eat for the satisfaction of their palate; similarly millions of the husbands and wives indulge in the sexual act for their carnal satisfaction and will continue to do so and also pay the inexorable penalty in the shape of numberless ills with which nature visits all violations of its order. The ideal of absolute *brahmacharya* or of married *Brahmacharya* is for those who aspire to a spiritual or higher life; it is the *sine qua non* of such life.

THE WIFE is not the husband's bondslave, but his companion and his help-mate and an equal partner in all his joys and sorrows—as free as the husband to choose her own path.

YOU WILL guard your wife's honour and be not her master, but her true friend. You will hold her body and her soul as sacred as I trust she will hold your body and your soul. To that end you will have to live a life of prayerful toil, and simplicity and self-restraint. Let not either of you regard another as the object of his or her lust.

My Brahmacharya

I HAVE practised *brahmacharya* for over thirty years with considerable success though living in the midst of activities. After the decision to lead the life of a *brahmachari* there was little change in my outward practice, except with my wife.

MY *brahmacharya* was not derived from books. I evolved my own rules for my guidance and that of those who, at my invitation, had joined me in the experiment. If I have not followed the prescribed restrictions, much less have I accepted the description found even in religious literature of woman as the source of all evil and temptation. Owing as I do all the good there may be in me to my mother, I have looked upon woman, never as an object for satisfaction of sexual desire, but always with the veneration due to my own mother. Man is the tempter and aggressor. It is not woman whose touch defiles man, but he is often himself too impure to touch her.

I AM EXPERIMENTING. I have never claimed to have been a perfect *brahmachari* of my definition. I have not acquired that control over my thoughts that I need for my researches in non-violence. If my non-violence is to be contagious and infectious, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts.

FROM THAT DAY when I began *brahmacharya,* our freedom began. My wife became a free woman, free from my authority as her lord and master, and I became free from the slavery to my own appetite which she had to satisfy. No other woman had any attraction for me in the same sense that my wife had. I was too loyal to her as husband and too loyal to the vow I had taken before my mother to be slave to any other woman. But the manner in which my *brahmacharya* came to me irresistibly drew me to woman as the mother of man. She became too sacred for sexual love. And so every woman at once became sister or daughter to me.

23. Birth-control

THERE CAN be no two opinions about the necessity of birth-control. But the only method handed down from ages past is self-control or *brahmacharya.* It is an infallible sovereign remedy doing good to those who practise it. And medical men will earn the gratitude of mankind, if instead of devising artificial means of birth-control they will find out the means of self-control.

Artificial methods are like putting a premium upon vice. They make man and woman reckless. And respectability that is being given to the methods must hasten the dissolution of the restraints that public opinion puts upon one. Adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration. The remedy will be found to be worse than the disease.

It is wrong and immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's acts. It is good for a person who over-eats to have an ache and a fast. It is bad for him to indulge his appetite and then escape the consequence by taking tonics or other medicine. It is still worse for a person to indulge in his animal passions and escape the consequences of his acts. Nature is relentless and will have full revenge for any such violation of her laws. Moral results can only be produced by moral restraints. All other restraints defeat the very purpose for which they are intended.

THE WORLD depends for its existence on the act of generation, and as the world is the playground of God and a reflection of His glory, the act of generation should be controlled for the ordered growth of the world.

MAN IS, undoubtedly, an artist and creator. Undoubtedly he must have beauty and, therefore, colour. His artistic and creative nature at its best taught him to discriminate, and to know that any conglomeration of colours was no mark of beauty, nor every sense of enjoyment good in itself. His eye for art taught man to seek enjoyment in usefulness. Thus, he learnt at an early stage of his evolution that he was to eat not for its own sake, as some of us still do, but he should eat to enable him to live. At a later stage, he learnt further that there was neither beauty nor joy in living for its own sake, but that he must live to serve his fellow creatures and through them his Maker. Similarly, when he pondered over the phenomenon of the pleasurableness of sexual union, he discovered that like every other organ of sense this one of generation had its use and abuse. And he saw that its true function, its right use, was to restrict it to generation. Any other use he saw was ugly, and he saw further that it was fraught with very serious consequences, as well to the individual as to the race.

ONCE THE idea that the only and grand function of the sexual organ is generation possesses man and woman, union for any other purpose they will hold as criminal waste of the vital fluid and the consequent excitement caused to man and woman as an equally criminal waste of energy.

THE UNION is meant not for pleasure, but for bringing forth progeny. And union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent.

IT IS a sin to bring forth unwanted children, but I think it is a greater sin to avoid the consequences of one's own action. It simply unmans man.

If we begin to believe that indulgence in animal passion is necessary, harmless and sinless, we shall want to give reins to it and shall be powerless to resist it. Whereas if we educate ourselves to believe that such indulgence is harmful, sinful, unnecessary, and can be controlled, we shall discover that self-restraint is perfectly possible.

Every husband and wife can make the fixed resolve never to share the same room or the same bed at night and to avoid sexual contact, except for the one purpose for which it is intended for both man and beast. The beast observes the law invariably. Man having got the choice has grievously erred in making the wrong choice. . . . Both man and woman should know that abstention from satisfaction of sexual appetite results not in disease but in health and vigour, provided the mind co-operates with the body.

Man must choose either of the two courses, the upward or the downward; but as he has the brute in him, he will more easily choose the downward course than the upward, especially when the downward course is presented to him in a beautiful garb. Man easily capitulates when sin is presented in the garb of virtue, and that is what Marie Stopes and others are doing.

This little globe of ours is not a toy of yesterday. It has not suffered from the weight of over-population through its age of countless millions. How can it be that the truth has suddenly dawned upon some people that it is in danger of perishing of shortage of food unless birthrate is checked through the use of contraceptives?

It is dinned into one's ears that gratification of the sex urge is a solemn obligation like the obligation of discharging debts lawfully incurred, and that not to do so would involve the penalty of intellectual decay. This sex urge has been isolated from the desire for progeny and it is said by the protagonists of the use of contraceptives that conception is an accident to be prevented except when the parties desire to have children. I venture to suggest that this is a most dangerous doctrine to preach.

THE INTRODUCTION of contraceptives under the name of science and the *imprimatur* of known leaders of society has intensified the complication and made the task of reformers who work for the purity of social life well-nigh impossible.

SEX URGE is a fine and noble thing. There is nothing to be ashamed of in it. But it is meant only for the act of creation. Any other use of it is a sin against God and humanity.

THE SEX EDUCATION that I stand for must have for its object the conquest and sublimation of the sex passion. Such education should automatically serve to bring home to children the essential distinction between man and brute, to make them realize that it is man's special privilege and pride to be gifted with the faculties of head and heart both; that he is a thinking no less than a feeling animal . . . and to renounce the sovereignty of reason over the blind instincts is, therefore, to renounce a man's estate.

24. Woman not the Weaker Sex

IF I was born a woman, I would rise in rebellion against any pretension on the part of man that woman is born to be his plaything. I have mentally become a woman in order to steal into her heart. I could not steal into my wife's heart until I decided to treat her differently than I used to do, and so I restored to her all her rights by dispossessing myself of all my so-called rights as her husband. And you see her today as simple as myself. You find no necklaces, no fineries on her. I want you to be like that. Refuse to be the slaves of your own whims and fancies, and the slaves of men. Refuse to decorate yourselves, and don't go in for scents and lavender waters. If you [women] want to give out the proper scent it must come out of your heart, and then you will captivate not man, but humanity. It is your birth-right. Man is born of woman, he is flesh of her flesh and bone of her bone. Come to your own and deliver your message again.

WOMAN MUST cease to consider herself the object of man's lust. The remedy is more in her hands than man's. She must refuse to adorn herself for men, including her husband, if she will be an equal partner with man. I cannot imagine Sita even wasting a single moment on pleasing Rama by physical charms.

OF ALL the evils for which man has made himself responsible, none is so degrading, so shocking or so brutal as his abuse of the better half of humanity to me, the female sex, not the weaker sex. It is the nobler of the two, for it is even today the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith and knowledge.

WOMAN, I hold, is the personification of self-sacrifice, but unfortunately today she does not realize what a tremendous advantage she has over man. As Tolstoy used to say, they are labouring under the hypnotic influence of man. If they would realize the strength of non-violence they would not consent to be called the weaker sex.

To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then, indeed, is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she not greater powers of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman. . . . Who can make a more effective appeal to the heart than woman?

Had not man in his blind selfishness crushed woman's soul as he has done or had she not succumbed to 'the enjoyments',[1] she would have given the world an exhibition of the infinite strength that is latent in her. The world shall see it in all its wonder and glory when woman has secured an equal opportunity for herself with man and fully developed her powers of mutual aid and combination.

Women are special custodians of all that is pure and religious in life. Conservative by nature, if they are slow to shed superstitious habits, they are also slow to give up all that is pure and noble in life.

I am uncompromising in the matter of women's rights. In my opinion she should labour under no legal disability not suffered by men. I should treat the daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality.

I believe in the proper education of women. But I do believe that woman will not make her contribution to the world by mimicking or running a race with men.

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[1] Probably Gandhiji was translating *bhogāh*, 'the pleasures of life'.

She can run the race, but she will not rise to the great heights she is capable of by mimicking man. She has to be the complement of man.

Prostitution

PROSTITUTION is as old as the world, but I wonder if it was ever a regular feature of town life as it is today. In any case the time must come when humanity will rise against the curse and make prostitution a thing of the past, as it has got rid of many evil customs, however time-honoured they might have been.

25. The Gospel of Labour

TO A PEOPLE famishing and idle, the only acceptable form in which God can dare appear is work and promise of food as wages.

GOD CREATED man to work for his food, and said that those who ate without work were thieves.

I AM working for winning *swaraj*. . .for those toiling and unemployed millions who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a piece of stale *roti* and a pinch of salt.

I MAY as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before those hungry millions, who have no lustre in their eyes and whose only God is their bread. I can take before them a message of God only by taking the message of sacred work before them. It is good enough to talk of God. . .after a nice breakfast and looking forward to a nicer luncheon, but how am I to talk of God to the millions who have to go without two meals a day? To them God can only appear as bread and butter.

'BRAHMA CREATED His people with the duty of sacrifice laid upon them, and said: "By this do you flourish. Let it be the fulfiller of all your desires." He who eats without performing this sacrifice, eats stolen bread,'—thus says the *Gita*. 'Earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow,' says the Bible. Sacrifices may be of many kinds. One of them may well be bread-labour. If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice. Men will no doubt do many other things, either through their bodies or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love, for the common good. There will then be no rich and no poor, none high and none low, no touchable and no untouchable.

This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it. Even if, without fulfilling the whole law of sacrifice, that is, the law of our being, we perform physical labour enough for our daily bread, we should go a long way towards the ideal.

IF WE did so, our wants would be minimized, our food would be simple. We should then eat to live, not live to eat. Let anyone who doubts the accuracy of this proposition try to sweat for his bread. He will derive the greatest relish from the productions of his labour, improve his health, and discover that many things he took were superfluities.

THERE CAN never be too much emphasis placed on work. I am simply repeating the gospel taught by the *Gita* where the Lord says, 'If I did not remain ever at work sleeplessly, I should set a wrong example to mankind'.

If I had the good fortune to be face to face with one like him [Buddha] I should not hesitate to ask him why he did not teach the gospel of work in preference to one of contemplation. I should do the same thing if I were to meet...saints [like Tukarm and Dnyandev].

Back to the Village

THE VILLAGE work frightens us. We who are town-bred find it trying to take to village life. Our bodies in many cases do not respond to the hard life. But it is a difficulty which we have to face boldly, even heroically, if our desire is to establish *Swaraj* for the people, not to substitute one class rule by another, which may be even worse. Hitherto the villagers have died in their thousands so that we might live. Now we might have to die so that they may live. The difference will be fundamental. The former have died unknowingly and involuntarily. Their enforced sacrifice has degraded us. If now we die knowingly, our sacrifice will ennoble us and the whole nation. Let us not flinch from the necessary sacrifice, if we will live as an independent self-respecting nation.

THE CITIES are capable of taking care of themselves. It is the village we have to turn to. We have to disabuse them of their prejudices, their superstitions, their narrow outlook and we can do so in no other manner than that of staying amongst them and sharing their joys and sorrows and spreading education and intelligent information amongst them.

IF . . . WE as individuals believe that revivification of India's villages is a necessity of our existence we must mentally go back to the villages and treat them as our pattern, instead of putting the city life before them for imitation.

YOU SEE the centre of power now is in New Delhi, or in Calcutta and Bombay, in the big cities. I would have it distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages of India. That will mean that there is no power. In other words, I want the seven hundred thousand dollars now invested in the Imperial Bank of England withdrawn and distributed among the seven hundred thousand villages. Then each village will have its one dollar which cannot be lost.

MY IDEA of village *swaraj* is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then if there is more land available, it will grow *useful* money crops, thus excluding *ganja*, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or tanks. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis. There will be no castes such as we have today with their graded untouchability.

The Spinning-wheel

I BELIEVE that no other path but that of non-violence will suit India. The symbol of that *dharma* for India is the spinning-wheel as it alone is the friend of the distressed and the giver of plenty for the poor. The law of love knows no bounds of space or time. My *swaraj*, therefore, takes note of Bhangis, Dheds, Dublas and the weakest of the weak, and except the spinning-wheel I know no other thing which befriends all these.

If I preach against the modern artificial life of sensual enjoyment, and ask men and women to go back to the simple life epitomized in the *charka* I do so because I know that without an intelligent return to simplicity, there is no escape from our descent to a state lower than brutality.

I do not know whether I am a *karmayogi* or any other *yogi.* I know that I cannot live without work. I crave to die with my hand at the spinning-wheel. If one has to establish communion with God through some means, why not through the spinning-wheel? Him who worships Me, says the Lord in the *Gita,* I guide along the right path and see to his needs.

My God is myriad-formed and while sometimes I see Him in the spinning-wheel, at other times I see Him in communal unity, then again in the removal of untouchability, and that is how I establish communion with Him according as the spirit moves me.

26. Class War

I have always said that my ideal is that capital and labour should supplement and help each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony, capital not only looking to the material welfare of the labourers, but their moral welfare also—capitalists being trustees for the welfare of the labouring classes under them.

I do not fight shy of capital. I fight capitalism. The West teaches one to avoid concentration of capital, to avoid a racial war in another and deadlier form. Capital and labour need not be antagonistic to each other. I cannot picture to myself a time when no man shall be richer than another. But I do picture to myself a time when the rich will spurn to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor and the poor will cease to envy the rich. Even in a most perfect world, we shall fail to avoid inequalities, but we can and must avoid strife and bitterness.

The dream I want to realize is not spoliation of the property of private owners, but to restrict its enjoyment so as to avoid all pauperism, consequent discontent and the hideously ugly contrast that exists today between the lives and surroundings of the rich and the poor. The latter must be enabled to feel that they are co-partners with their zamindars and not their slaves, to be made to labour at the latter's sweet will and to be made to pay all kinds of exactions on all conceivable occasions.

By the non-violent method, we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy Capitalism. We invite the capitalist to regard himself as a trustee for those on whom he depends for the making, the retention and the increase of his capital. Nor need the worker wait for his conversion. If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realizes his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the capitalist instead of remaining his slave. If he aims at becoming the sole owner, he will most likely be killing the hen that lays golden eggs.

fore, takes note of Bhangis, Dheds, Dublas and the weakest of the weak, and except the spinning-wheel I know no other thing which befriends all these.

If I preach against the modern artificial life of sensual enjoyment, and ask men and women to go back to the simple life epitomized in the *charka* I do so because I know that without an intelligent return to simplicity, there is no escape from our descent to a state lower than brutality.

I do not know whether I am a *karmayogi* or any other *yogi.* I know that I cannot live without work. I crave to die with my hand at the spinning-wheel. If one has to establish communion with God through some means, why not through the spinning-wheel? Him who worships Me, says the Lord in the *Gita,* I guide along the right path and see to his needs.

My God is myriad-formed and while sometimes I see Him in the spinning-wheel, at other times I see Him in communal unity, then again in the removal of untouchability, and that is how I establish communion with Him according as the spirit moves me.

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EVERY MAN has an equal right to the necessaries of life even as birds and beasts have. And since every right carries with it a corresponding duty and the corresponding remedy for resisting any attack upon it, it is merely a matter of finding out the corresponding duties and remedies to vindicate the elementary fundamental equality. The corresponding duty is to labour with my limbs and the corresponding remedy is to non-cooperate with him who deprives me of the fruit of my labour. And if I would recognize the fundamental equality, as I must, of the capitalist and the labourer, I must not aim at his destruction. I must strive for his conversion. My non-cooperation with him will open his eyes to the wrong he may be doing.

IT CAN be easily demonstrated that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruction in the end of the worker; and as no human being is so bad as to be beyond redemption, no human being is so perfect as to warrant his destroying him whom he wrongly considers to be wholly evil.

MY IDEA of society is that while we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity. It is in the nature of things impossible. For instance, all cannot have the same height or colour, or degree of intelligence, etc.; therefore, in the nature of things some will have ability to earn more and others less. People with talents will have more, and they will utilize their talents for this purpose. If they utilize their talents kindly, they will be performing the work of the State. Such people exist as trustees, on no other terms. I would allow a man of intellect to earn more, I would not cramp his talent. But the bulk of his greater earnings must be used for the good of the State, just as the income of all earning sons of the father goes to the common family fund. They would have their earnings only as trustees. It may be that I would fail miserably in this. But that is what I am sailing for.

Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be false, but I believe myself to be a revolutionary, a non-violent revolutionary. My means are non-cooperation. No person can amass wealth without the cooperation, willing or forced, of the people concerned.

I am inviting those people who consider themselves as owners today to act as trustees, i.e. owners, not in their own right, but owners in the right of those whom they have exploited.

The moment labour recognizes its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, i.e. it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money.

I hold that a working knowledge of a variety of occupations is to the working class what metal is to the capitalist. A labourer's skill is his capital. Just as the capitalist cannot make his capital fructify without the cooperation of labour, even so the working man cannot make his labour fructify without the cooperation of capital. And if both labour and capital have the gift of intelligence equally developed in them and have confidence in their capacity to secure a fair deal, each at the hands of the other, they would get to respect and appreciate each other as equal partners in a common enterprise. They need not regard each other as inherently irreconcilable antagonists. But the difficulty is that whilst today capital is organized and seems to be securely entrenched, labour is not. The intelligence of the working man is cramped by his soulless, mechanical occupation which leaves him little scope or chance to develop his mind. It has prevented him from realizing the power and full dignity of his status. He has been taught to believe that his wages have to be dictated by capitalists instead of his demanding his own terms. Let him only be organized along right lines and have his intelligence quickened, let him learn a variety of occupations, and he will be able to go about with his head erect and never be afraid of being without means of sustenance.

I DO not want the power of a Hitler, I want the power of a free peasant. I have been trying to identify myself with the peasants all these years, but have not succeeded in doing so. What, however, differentiates me from the *kisan* today is that he is a *kisan* and a labourer not by choice but by force of circumstances. I want to be a *kisan* and a labourer by choice and when I can make him also a *kisan* and a labourer by choice, I can also enable him to throw off the shackles that keep him bound today and that compel him to do his master's bidding.

27. Man v. Machine

I WOULD not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such.

WHAT I object to, is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. The craze is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour', till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The impetus behind it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this constitution of things that I am fighting with all my might.

THE SUPREME consideration is man. The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man.

IDEALLY...I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to salvation, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view, I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself...is the purest piece of mechanism; but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul, it has to be rejected.

IT IS GOOD to have faith in human nature. I live because I have that faith. But that faith does not blind me to the fact of history that, whilst in the ultimate all is well, individuals and groups called nations have before now perished. Rome, Greece, Babylon, Egypt and many others are a standing testimony in proof of the fact that nations have perished before now because of their misdeeds. What may be hoped for is that Europe on account of her fine and scientific intellect will realize the obvious and retrace her steps, and from the demoralizing industrialism, she will find a way out. It will not necessarily be a return to the old absolute simplicity. But it will have to be a reorganization in which village life will predominate, and in which brute and material force will be subordinated to the spiritual force.

ORGANIZATION of machinery for the purpose of concentrating wealth and power in the hands of a few and for the exploitation of many I hold to be altogether wrong. Much of the organization of machinery of the present age is of that type. The movement of the spinning-wheel is an organized attempt to displace machinery from that state of exclusiveness and exploitation and to place it in its proper state. Under my scheme, therefore, men in charge of machinery will think not of themselves or even of the nation to which they belong, but of the whole human race.

MACHINERY HAS its place; it has come to stay. But it must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine, but I know that it is criminal to displace hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupation in their houses.

INDIA WHEN it begins to exploit other nations—as it must if it becomes industrialized—will be a curse for other nations, a menace to the world. And why should I think of industrializing India to exploit other nations? Don't you see the tragedy of the situation, viz., that we can find work for our 300 millions unemployed, but England can find none for its three millions and is faced with a problem that baffles the greatest intellects of England? ...And if the future of industrialism is dark for the West, would it not be darker still for India?

MASS-PRODUCTION takes no note of the real requirement of the consumer. If mass-production were in itself a virtue, it should be capable of indefinite multiplication. But it can be definitely shown that mass-production carries within it its own limitations. If all countries adopted the system of mass-production there would not be a big enough market for their products. Mass-production must then come to a stop.

I WOULD categorically state my conviction that the mania for mass-production is responsible for the world crises. Granting for the moment that machinery may supply all the needs of humanity, still, it would concentrate production in particular areas, so that you would have to go in a roundabout way to regulate distribution, whereas, if there is production and distribution both in the respective areas where things are required, it is automatically regulated and there is less chance for fraud, none for speculation.

When production and consumption both become localized, the temptation to speed up production, indefinitely and at any price, disappears. All the endless difficulties and problems that our present-day economic system presents, too, would then come to an end....There would be no unnatural accumulation of hoards in the pockets of the few, and want in the midst of plenty in regard to the rest.

[I envisage] mass-production, certainly, but not based on force. After all, the message of the spinning-wheel is that. It is mass-production but mass-production in people's own homes. If you multiply individual production to millions of times, would it not give you mass-production on a tremendous scale?

Under my system, again, it is labour which is the current coin, not metal. Any person who can use his labour has that coin, has wealth. He converts his labour into cloth, he converts his labour into grain. If he wants paraffin oil, which he cannot himself produce, he uses his surplus grain for getting the oil. It is exchange of labour on free, fair and equal terms—hence it is no robbery. You may object that this is a reversion to the primitive system of barter. But is not all international trade based on the barter system?

The heavy machinery for work of public utility, which cannot be undertaken by human labour, has its inevitable place, but all that would be owned by the State and used entirely for the benefit of the people. I can have no consideration for machinery which is meant either to enrich the few at the expense of the many, or without cause to displace the useful labour of many.

FAITH in my work sustains me, but there is also added to it the conviction that all the other things that seem to challenge my faith are doomed....I am clear that whilst this machine age aims at converting men into machines, I am aiming at reinstating man turned machine into his original estate.

MECHANIZATION is good when hands are too few to the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil where there are more hands than required for the work as is the case of India. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilize their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in the year.

I HAVE the conviction within me that when all these achievements of the machine age will have disappeared, these our handicrafts will remain; when all exploitations will have ceased, service and honest labour will remain. It is because this faith sustains me that I am going on with my work....Indomitable faith in their work sustained men like Stephenson and Columbus. Faith in my work sustains me.

A FACTORY employs a few hundreds and renders thousands unemployed. I may produce tons of oil from an oil-mill, but I also drive thousands of oilmen out of employment. I call this destructive energy, whereas production by the labour of millions of hands is constructive and conducive to the common good. Mass-production through power-driven machinery, even when state-owned, will be of no avail.

But why not, it is asked, save the labours of millions, and give them more leisure for intellectual pursuits? Leisure is good and necessary up to a point only. God created man to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, and I dread the prospect of our being able to produce all that we want, including our food-stuffs, out of a conjuror's hat.

Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery, there are large cities; where there are large cities, there are tram-cars and railways. And there only does one see electric light. Honest physicians will tell you that where means of artificial locomotion have increased, the health of the people has suffered. I remember that when in a European town there was scarcity of money, the receipts of the tramway company, of the lawyers and of the doctors went down, and the people were less unhealthy. I cannot recall a single good point in connexion with machinery.

Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India. Machinery to be well used has to help and ease human effort. The present use of machinery tends more and more to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few in total disregard of millions of men and women whose bread is snatched by it out of their mouths.

28. This Satanic Civilization

It is my firm belief that Europe today represents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is today only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping Mammon.

I believe that in the midst of all the bloodshed, chicane and fraud being resorted to on a colossal scale in the West, the whole of humanity is silently but surely making progress towards a better age.

Is the world any the better for quick instruments of locomotion? How do these instruments advance man's spiritual progress? Do they not in the last resort hamper it? And is there any limit to man's ambition? Once we were satisfied with travelling a few miles an hour; today we want to negotiate hundreds of miles an hour; one day we might desire to fly through space. What will be the result? Chaos.

This industrial civilization is a disease because it is *all* evil. Let us not be deceived by catchwords and phrases. I have no quarrel with steamships or telegraphs. They may stay, if they can, without the support of industrialism and all that it connotes. They are not an end. We must not suffer exploitation for the sake of steamships and telegraphs. They are in no way indispensable for the permanent welfare of the human race. Now that we know the use of steam and electricity, we should be able to use them on due occasion and after we have learnt to avoid industrialism. Our concern is, therefore, to destroy industrialism at any cost.

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY detest this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction. If modern civilization stands for all this, and I have understood it to do so, I call it satanic.

I AM not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would certainly welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Nor am I aiming at a permanent destruction of law courts, much as I regard it as a 'consummation devoutly to be wished'. Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for.

A TIME is coming when those, who are in the mad rush today of multiplying their wants, vainly thinking that they add to the real substance, real knowledge of the world, will retrace their steps and say: 'What have we done?' Civilizations have come and gone, and in spite of all our vaunted progress I am tempted to ask again and again 'To what purpose?' Wallace, a contemporary of Darwin, has said the same thing. Fifty years of brilliant inventions and discoveries, he has said, has not added one inch to the moral height of mankind. So said a dreamer and visionary if you will—Tolstoy. So said Jesus, and Buddha, and Muhammad, whose religion is being denied and falsified in my own country today.

BY ALL MEANS drink deep of the fountains that are given to you in the Sermon on the Mount, but then you will have to take sackcloth and ashes. The teaching of the Sermon was meant for each and every one of us. You cannot serve both God and Mammon. God the Compassionate and the Merciful, Tolerance incarnate, allows Mammon to have his nine days' wonder. But I say to you...fly from that self-destroying but destructive show of Mammon.

Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in open air only as much as they liked. Now thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires....This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed.

I do want growth, I do want self-determination, I do want freedom, but I want all these for the soul. I doubt if the steel age is an advance on the flint age. I am indifferent. It is the evolution of the soul to which the intellect and all our faculties have to be devoted.

29. Communism and Socialism

I do not believe in short-violent-cuts to success....However much I may sympathize with and admire worthy motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes. There is, therefore, really no meeting-ground between the school of violence and myself. But my creed of non-violence not only does not preclude me but compels me even to associate with anarchists and all those who believe in violence. But that association is always with the sole object of weaning them from what appears to me their error. For experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence. Even if my belief is a fond delusion, it will be admitted that it is a fascinating delusion.

I MUST confess that I have not yet been able to fully understand the meaning of Bolshevism. All that I know is that it aims at the abolition of the institution of private property. This is only an application of the ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics and if the people adopted this ideal of their own accord or could be made to accept it by means of peaceful persuasion, there would be nothing like it. But from what I know of Bolshevism it not only does not preclude the use of force, but freely sanctions it for the expropriation of private property and maintaining the collective state ownership of the same. And if that is so, I have no hesitation in saying that the Bolshevik regime in its present form cannot last for long. For it is my firm conviction that nothing enduring can be built on violence. But, be that as it may, there is no questioning the fact that the Bolshevik ideal has behind it the purest sacrifice of countless men and women who have given up their all for its sake, and an ideal that is sanctioned by the sacrifices of such master spirits as Lenin cannot go in vain; the noble example of their renunciation will be emblazoned for ever and quicken and purify the ideal as time passes.

WHAT DOES communism mean in the last analysis? It means a classless society—an ideal that is worth striving for. Only I part company with it when force is called to aid for achieving it. We are all born equal, but we have all these centuries resisted the will of God. The idea of inequality, of 'high and low', is an evil, but I do not believe in eradicating evil from the human breast at the point of the bayonet. The human breast does not lend itself to that means.

As I look to Russia where the apotheosis of industrialization has been reached, the life there does not appeal to me. To use the language of the Bible, 'What shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?' In modern terms, it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual to become a full-blooded, full-developed member of the society.

Communism of the Russian type, that is communism which is imposed on a people, would be repugnant to India. If communism came without any violence, it would be welcome. For then no property would be held by anybody except on behalf of the people and for the people. A millionaire may have his millions, but he will hold them for the people. The State could take charge of them, whenever they would need them for the common cause.

Socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. As I have contended, socialism, even communism, is explicit in the first verse of *Ishopanishad.* What is true is that when some reformers lost faith in the method of conversion, the technique of what is known as scientific socialism was born. I am engaged in solving the same problem that faces scientific socialists. It is true, however, that my approach is always and only through unadulterated non-violence.

Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught: 'All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it.' Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i.e. the people. That the land today does not belong to the people is true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it. I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation, not excluding Russia, and that without violence. The most effective substitute for violent dispossession is the wheel with all its implications. Land and all property is his who will work it. Unfortunately the workers are or have been kept ignorant of this simple fact.

I HAVE claimed that I was a socialist long before those I know in India had avowed their creed. But my socialism was natural to me and not adopted from any books. It came out of my unshakable belief in non-violence. No man can be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice, no matter where it occurred. Unfortunately western socialists have, so far as I know, believed in the necessity of violence for enforcing socialist doctrines.

I HAVE always held that social justice, even to the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force. I have further believed that it is possible by proper training of the lowliest by non-violent means to secure redress of the wrongs suffered by them. That means non-violent non-cooperation. . .

NO MAN should have more land than he needs for dignified sustenance. Who can dispute the fact that the grinding poverty of the masses is due to their having no land that they can call their own?....But it must be realized that the reform cannot be rushed, if it is to be brought about by non-violent means, it can only be done by education both of the haves and have-nots...If the end in view is to be achieved, the education I have adumbrated has to be commenced now. An atmosphere of mutual respect and trust has to be established as the preliminary step. There can be then no violent conflict between the classes and the masses.

Economics and Ethics

I MUST CONFESS that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurt the moral well-being of an individual or a nation are immoral and, therefore, sinful. Thus, the economics that permit one country to prey upon another are immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour.

THE ECONOMICS that disregard moral and sentimental considerations are like waxworks that being life-like still lack the life of the living flesh. At every crucial moment these new-fangled economic laws have broken down in practice. And nations or individuals who accept them as guiding maxims must perish.

THAT ECONOMICS is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce.

WE WANT to organize our national power. This can be done not by adopting the best methods of production only but by the best method of *both* the production and the distribution.

MY IDEAL is equal distribution, but so far as I can see, it is not to be realized. I, therefore, work for equitable distribution.

ACCORDING to me the economic constitution of India and, for the matter of that, the world should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of food and clothing. In other words, everybody should be able to get sufficient work to enable him to make the two ends meet. And this ideal can be universally realized only if the means of production of the elementary necessaries of life remain in the control of the masses. These should be freely available to all as God's air and water are or ought to be; they should not be made a vehicle of traffic for the exploitation of others. This monopolization by any country, nation or group of persons would be unjust. The neglect of this simple principle is the cause of destitution that we witness today not only in this unhappy land but other parts of the world too.

30. The Gospel of Freedom

It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness.

No tyrant has ever yet succeeded in his purpose without carrying the victim with him, it may be, as it often is, by force. Most people choose rather to yield to the will of the tyrant than to suffer for the consequence of resistance. Hence does terrorism form part of the stock-in-trade of the tyrant. But we have instances in history where terrorism has failed to impose the terrorist's will upon his victim.

Even the most despotic government cannot stand except for the consent of the governed, which consent is often forcibly procured by the despot. Immediately the subject ceases to fear the despotic force his power is gone.

WE MUST be content to die, if we cannot live as free men and women.

THERE IS no such thing as slow freedom. Freedom is like a birth. Till we are fully free we are slaves. All birth takes place in a moment.

GOLDEN FETTERS are no less galling to a self-respecting man than iron ones. The sting lies in the fetters, not in the metal.

AS EVERY country is fit to eat, to drink and to breathe, even so is every nation fit to manage its own affairs, no matter how badly.

MAN HAS to thank himself for his dependence. He can be independent as soon as he wills it.

Essence of Democracy

DEMOCRACY DISCIPLINED and enlightened is the finest thing in the world. A democracy prejudiced, ignorant, superstitious will land itself in chaos and may be self-destroyed.

THE DEMOCRACY of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will.

NOTHING IS so easy as to train mobs, for the simple reason that they have no mind, no premeditation. They act in a frenzy. They repent quickly. Non-cooperation I am using in order to evolve democracy.

WE MUST train these masses of men who have a heart of gold, who feel for the country, who want to be taught and led. But a few intelligent, sincere workers are needed, and the whole nation can be organized to act intelligently and democracy can be evolved out of mobocracy.

THE SPIRIT of democracy cannot be established in the midst of terrorism whether Governmental or popular. In some respects popular terrorism is more antagonistic to the growth of the democratic spirit than the Governmental. For the latter strengthens the spirit of democracy, whereas the former kills it.

TRUE DEMOCRACY is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to represent. I hold that democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.

THE VERY ESSENCE of democracy is that every person represents all the varied interests which compose the nation. It is true that it does not exclude and should not exclude special representation of special interests, but such representation is not its test. It is a sign of its imperfection.

WHEN PEOPLE come into possession of political power, the interference with the freedom of the people is reduced to a minimum. In other words, a nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without such state interference is truly democratic. Where such a condition is absent, the form of government is democratic in name.

DEMOCRACY AND violence can ill go together. The states that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent. It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

I CLAIM [to be a democrat] if complete identification with the poorest of mankind, an intense longing to live no better than they and a corresponding conscious effort to approach that level to the best of one's ability can entitle one to make it.

THE TRUE DEMOCRAT is he who with purely non-violent means defends his liberty and, therefore, his country's and ultimately that of the whole of mankind.

The Law of Majority

IN MATTERS of conscience, the Law of Majority has no place.

LET US not push the mandate theory to ridiculous extremes and become slaves to resolutions of majorities. That would be a revival of brute force in a more virulent form. If rights of minorities are to be respected, the majority must tolerate and respect their opinion and action. . . . It will be the duty of the majority to see to it that the minorities receive a proper hearing and are not otherwise exposed to insults. *Swaraj* will be an absurdity if individuals have to surrender their judgement to the majority.

THE RULE of majority has a narrow application, i.e. one should yield to the majority in matters of detail. But it is slavery to be amenable to the majority, no matter what its decisions are. Democracy is not a state in which people act like sheep. Under democracy, individual liberty of opinion and action is jealously guarded. I, therefore, believe that the minority has a perfect right to act differently from the majority.

31. Nationalism v. Internationalism

I WANT the freedom of my country so that other countries may learn something from my free country, so that the resources of my country may be utilized for the benefit of mankind.

JUST AS the cult of patriotism teaches us today that the individual has to die for the family, the family has to die for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, and the province for the country, even so a country has to be free in order that it may die, if necessary, for the benefit of the world. My love, therefore, of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole of the country may die, so that the human race may live. There is no room for race hatred there. Let that be our nationalism.

FOR ME patriotism is the same as humanity. I am patriotic because I am human and humane. It is not exclusive, I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India. Imperialism has no place in my scheme of life. The law of a patriot is not different from that of a patriarch. And a patriot is so much the less patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian. There is no conflict between private and political law.

IF INDIA makes violence her creed, and I have survived, I would not care to live in India. She will cease to evoke any pride in me. My patriotism is subservient to my religion. I cling to India like a child to its mother's breast, because I feel that she gives me the spiritual nourishment I need. She has the environment that responds to my highest aspiration. When that faith is gone, I shall feel like an orphan without hope of ever finding a guardian.

I WANT to see God face to face. God I *know,* is Truth. For me the only certain means of knowing God is non-violence—*ahimsa*—love. I live for India's freedom and would die for it, because it is part of Truth. Only a free India can worship the true God. I work for India's freedom because my *swadeshi* teaches me that being in it and having inherited her culture, I am fittest to serve *her* and *she* has a prior claim to my service.

I WANT India's rise so that the whole world may benefit. I do not want India to rise on the ruin of other nations. If, therefore, India was strong and able, India would send out to the world her treasures of art and health-giving spices, but will refuse to send out opium or intoxicating liquors although the traffic may bring much material benefit to India.

IT IS impossible for one to be internationalist without being a nationalist. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e. when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man. It is not nationalism that is evil, it is the narrowness, selfishness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations which is evil. Each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on the ruin of, the other. Indian nationalism has struck a different path. It wants to organize itself or to find full self-expression for the benefit and service of humanity at large. . . . God having cast my lot in the midst of the people of India, I should be untrue to my Maker if I failed to serve them. If I do not know how to serve them I shall never know how to serve humanity. And I cannot possibly go wrong so long as I do not harm other nations in the act of serving my country. I have but presented India with a new and matchless weapon, or rather an extended application of an ancient and tried weapon. I cannot use it for her. I can use, have used it, for myself and feel free. Others have done, and feel, likewise. If the nation uses the weapon she becomes free.

I do want to think in terms of the whole world. My patriotism includes the good of mankind in general. Therefore, my service of India includes the service of humanity. . . . The whole scheme for the liberation of India is based upon the development of internal strength. It is a plan of self-purification. The peoples of the West, therefore, can best help the Indian movement by setting apart specialists to study the inwardness of it. Let the specialists come to India with an open mind and in a spirit of humility as befits a searcher after Truth.

I believe in thought-power more than in the power of the word, whether written or spoken. And if the movement that I seek to represent has vitality in it and has divine blessing upon it, it will permeate the whole world without any physical presence in its different parts.

If I can say so without arrogance and with due humility, my mesage and methods are, indeed, in their essentials for the whole world and it gives me keen satisfaction to know that it has already received a wonderful response in the hearts of a large and daily growing number of men and women in the West.

With my limitations of which I am painfully conscious, I feel somehow that my experiment must be restricted to a fragment. What may be true of the fragment is likely to be true of the whole. . . . I am pining for the assistance of the whole world. I see it coming. . . . But I know that we shall have to deserve it before it comes upon us like a mighty flood, a flood that cleanses and invigorates.

My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realization of freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission of the brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always, in every case without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large. Not only that, but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life. I want to realize brotherhood or identity not merely with the beings called human, but I want to realize identity with all life, even with such things as crawl upon earth. I want, if I don't give you a shock, to realize identity with even the crawling things upon earth, because we claim descent from the same God, and that being so, all life in whatever form it appears must be essentially one.

I am a humble servant of India and in trying to serve India, I serve humanity at large. . . . After nearly 50 years of public life, I am able to say today that my faith in the doctrine that the service of one's nation is not inconsistent with the service of the world has grown. It is a good doctrine. Its acceptance alone will ease the situation in the world and stop the mutual jealousies between nations inhabiting this globe of ours.

Our nationalism can be no peril to other nations in as much as we will exploit none, just as we will allow none to exploit us. Through *swaraj* we will serve the whole world.

Independence v. Interdependence

Isolated independence is not the goal of the world-states. It is voluntary interdependence.

The better mind of the world desires today not absolutely independent states warring one against another, but a federation of friendly interdependent states. The consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal interdependence rather than independence. . . . I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance.

Interdependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realize his oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism. His social interdependence enables him to test his faith and to prove himself on the touchstone of reality. If man were so placed or could so place himself as to be absolutely above all dependence on his fellow-beings he would become so proud and arrogant as to be a veritable burden and nuisance to the world. Dependence on society teaches him the lesson of humanity. That a man ought to be able to satisfy most of his essential needs himself is obvious; but it is no less obvious to me that when self-sufficiency is carried to the length of isolating oneself from society it almost amounts to sin. A man cannot become self-sufficient even in respect of all the various operations from the growing of cotton to the spinning of the yarn. He has at some stage or other to take the aid of the members of his family. And if one may take help from one's own family why not from one's neighbours? Or otherwise what is the significance of the great saying, 'The world is my family'?

LET US NOT . . . forget that it is man's social nature which distinguishes him from the brute creation. If it is his privilege to be independent it is equally his duty to be interdependent. Only an arrogant man will claim to be independent of everybody else and be self-contained.

I DO not believe . . . that an individual may gain spiritually and those who surround him suffer. I believe in *advaita,* I believe in the essential unity of man and, for that matter, of all that lives. Therefore, I believe that if one man gains spiritually, the whole world gains with him and, if one man falls, the whole world falls to that extent.

THERE IS not a single virtue which aims at, or is content with, the welfare of the individual alone. Conversely, there is not a single offence which does not, directly or indirectly, affect many others besides the actual offender. Hence, whether an individual is good or bad is not merely his own concern, but really the concern of the whole community, nay, of the whole world.

MANKIND IS ONE, seeing that all are equally subject to the moral law. All men are equal in God's eyes. There are, of course, differences of race and status and the like, but the higher the status of a man, the greater is his responsibility.

32. What Swaraj Means to Me

By *swaraj* I mean the government of India by the consent of the people as ascertained by the largest number of the adult population, male or female, native born or domiciled, who have contributed by manual labour to the service of the State and who have taken the trouble of having their names registered as voters.

Real *swaraj* will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, *swaraj* is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.

The word *swaraj* is a sacred word, a Vedic word, meaning self-rule and self-restraint, and not freedom from all restraint which 'independence' often means.

One sometimes hears it said: 'Let us get the Government of India in our own hands and everything will be all right.' There could be no greater superstition than this. No nation has thus gained its independence. The splendour of the spring is reflected in every tree, the whole earth is then filled with the freshness of youth. Similarly, when the *swaraj* spirit has really permeated society, a stranger suddenly come upon us will observe energy in every walk of life, he will find national servants engaged, each according to his own abilities, in a variety of public activities.

For me the only training in *swaraj* we need is the ability to defend ourselves against the whole world and to live our natural life in perfect freedom even though it may be full of defects. Good government is no substitute for self-government.

I HAVE had the hardihood to say that *swaraj* could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. *Swaraj* from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain *swaraj*, and cannot retain it if somehow attained.

Swaraj can never be a free gift by one nation to another. It is a treasure to be purchased with a nation's best blood. It will cease to be a gift when we have paid dearly for it. . . . *Swaraj* will be a fruit of incessant labour, suffering beyond measure.

Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of our countrymen. I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange 'king log for king stork.'

MY *swaraj* is to keep intact the genius of our civilization. I want to write many new things but they must all be written on the Indian slate. I would gladly borrow from the West when I can return the amount with decent interest.

THE PILGRIMAGE to *swaraj* is a painful climb. It requires attention to details. It means vast organizing ability, it means penetration into the villages solely for the service of the villagers. In other words, it means national education, i.e. education of the masses. It means an awakening of national consciousness among the masses. It will not spring like the magician's mango. It will grow almost unperceived like the banyan tree. A bloody revolution will never perform the trick. Haste here is most certainly waste.

Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of government control whether it is foreign government or whether it is national.

Surely *swaraj* will not drop from the clouds. It will be the fruit of patience, perseverance, ceaseless toil, courage and intelligent appreciation of the environment.

My *swaraj* will be . . . not a result of murder of others but a voluntary act of continuous self-sacrifice. My *swaraj* will not be a bloody usurpation of rights, but the acquisition of power will be a beautiful and natural fruit of duty well and truly performed. It will . . . provide amplest excitement of the Chaitanya type, not of the Nero type. . . . It can come, often does come, when the horizon is the blackest. But I know that it will be preceded by the rise of a class of young men and women who will find full excitement in work, work and nothing but work for the nation.

Without a large, very large, army of self-sacrificing and determined workers, real progress of the masses I hold to be an impossibility. And without that progress, there is no such thing as *swaraj*. Progress towards *swaraj* will be in exact proportion to the increase in the number of workers who will dare to sacrifice their all for the cause of the poor.

If *swaraj* was not meant to civilize us, and to purify and stabilize our civilisation, it would be nothing worth. The very essence of our civilization is that we give a paramount place to morality in all our affairs, public or private.

The *swaraj* of my—our—dream recognizes no race or religious distinctions. Nor is it to be the monopoly of the lettered persons nor yet of monied men. *Swaraj* is to be for all, including the former, but emphatically including the maimed, the blind, the starving toiling millions.

If we wish to achieve *swaraj* through Truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. This rules out the deliberate creation of an anarchical state for the overthrow of the established order in the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod of iron and produce order out of disorder.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

It has been said that Indian *swaraj* will be the rule of the majority community, i.e. the Hindus. There could not be a greater mistake than that. If it were to be true, I for one would refuse to call it *swaraj* and would fight it with all the strength at my command, for to me *Hind Swaraj* is the rule of all people, is the rule of justice. Whether under that rule the ministers were Hindus or Mussalmans or Sikhs and whether legislatures were exclusively filled by the Hindus or Mussalmans or any other community, they would have to do even-handed justice.

That unity is strength is not merely a copybook maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu-Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.

The only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern their country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For under a free Government the real power will be held by the people.

By *Ramraj* I do not mean Hindu *raj*. I mean by *Ramraj* Divine *raj*, the Kingdom of God. For me Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of Truth and righteousness. Whether Rama of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of *Ramraj* is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under *Ramraj*.

My Swadeshi is not Punitive

My definition of *swadeshi* is well known. I must not serve my distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest. It is never vindictive or punitive. It is in no sense narrow, for I buy from every part of the world what is needed for my growth. I refuse to buy from anybody anything however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom Nature has made my first care. I buy useful healthy literature from every part of the world. I buy surgical instruments from England, pins and pencils from Australia and watches from Switzerland. But I will not buy an inch of the finest cotton fabric from England or Japan or any other part of the world because it has injured and increasingly injures the millions of the inhabitants of India. I hold it to be sinful for me to refuse to buy the cloth spun and woven by the needy millions of India's paupers and to buy foreign cloth although it may be superior in quality to the Indian hand-spun. My *swadeshi*, therefore, chiefly centres round the hand-spun *khaddar* and extends to every thing that can be and is produced in India.

33. India's Mission

I FEEL that India's mission is different from that of others. India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world. There is no parallel in the world for the process of purification that this country has voluntarily undergone. India is less in need of steel weapons, it has fought with divine weapons, it can still do so. Other nations have been votaries of brute force. The terrible war going on in Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of the truth. India can win all by soul force. History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute force is as nothing before soul force. Poets have sung about it and seers have described their experiences.

EVERYTHING IN India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest possible aspirations can want.

INDIA IS essentially *karmabhumi* (land of duty) in contradistinction to *bhogabhumi* (land of enjoyment).

AN INDIA prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope for humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world.

THAT INDIANS are not a nation of cowards, is proved by the personal bravery and daring of her martial races, whether Hindu, Mussalman, Sikh or Gurkha. My point is that the spirit of fighting is foreign to India's soil and that probably she has a higher part to play in the evolution of the world. Time alone can show what is to be her destiny.

INDIA MUST learn to live before she can aspire to die for humanity.

I WOULD like to see India free and strong so that she may offer herself a willing and pure sacrifice for the betterment of the world. The individual, being pure, sacrifices himself for the family, the latter for the village, the village for the district, the district for the province, the province for the nation, the nation for all.

INDIA'S FREEDOM must revolutionize the world's outlook upon peace and war. Her impotence affects the whole of mankind.

INDIA'S DESTINY lies not along the bloody way of the West, of which she shows signs of tiredness, but along the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life. India is in danger of losing her soul. She cannot lose it and live. She must not therefore lazily and helplessly say, 'I cannot escape the onrush from the West'. She must be strong enough to resist it for her own sake and that of the world.

I AM humble enough to admit that there is much that we can profitably assimilate from the West. Wisdom is no monopoly of one continent or one race. My resistance to Western civilization is really a resistance to its indiscriminate and thoughtless imitation based on the assumption that Asiatics are fit only to copy everything that comes from the West. I do believe, that if India has patience enough to go through the fire of suffering and to resist any unlawful encroachment upon her own civilization which, imperfect though it undoubtedly is, has hitherto stood the ravages of time, she can make a lasting contribution to the peace and solid progress of the world.

MY AMBITION is much higher than independence. Through the deliverance of India, I seek to deliver the so-called weaker races of the earth from the crushing heels of Western exploitation.

INDIA HAS never waged war against any nation. She has put up sometimes ill-organised or half-organized resistance in self-defence pure and simple. She has, therefore, not got to develop the will for peace. She has that in abundance whether she knows it or not. The way she can promote peace is to offer successful resistance to her exploitation by peaceful means. That is to say, she has to achieve her independence . . . by peaceful means. If she can do this it will be the largest contribution that any single nation will have made towards world peace.

IT GIVES one both pain and surprise when I find people feeling anxious about their future under a freed India. For me an India which does not guarantee freedom to the lowliest of those born not merely within an artificial boundary but within its natural boundary is not free India. Our fear paralyses our thinking powers, or we should at once know that freedom means a state at any rate somewhat better than the present for every honest man or woman. It is exploiters, money-grabbers, pirates and the like who have to fear the advent of freedom.

I VENTURE to suggest, in all humility, that if India reaches her destiny through truth and non-violence, she will have made no small contribution to the world peace for which all the nations of the earth are thirsting and she would also have, in that case, made some slight return for the help that those nations have been freely giving to her.

I SHALL strive for a constitution, which will release India from all thraldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability, or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams. . . . I shall be satisfied with nothing else.

IF I want freedom for my country, believe me, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom in order that I, belonging to a nation which counts one-fifth of the human race, may exploit any other race upon earth, or any single individual. If I want that freedom for my country, I would not be deserving of that freedom if I did not cherish and treasure the equal right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom.

WHAT CANNOT the two nations do—one a handful but brave, with a record for bravery perhaps unsurpassed, a nation noted for having fought slavery, a nation that has at least claimed times without number to protect the weak, and another a very ancient nation, counted in millions, with a glorious and ancient past, representing at the present moment two great cultures, the Islamic and Hindu cultures and, if you will, also containing not a small but a very large number of Christian population, and certainly absorbing the whole of the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers almost beneath contempt, but in philanthropy and enterprise almost unequalled, certainly unsurpassed. We have got all these cultures concentrated in India.

I PERSONALLY would wait, if need be, for ages rather than seek to attain the freedom of my country through bloody means. I feel in the innermost recesses of my heart, after a political experience extending over an unbroken period of close upon thirty-five years, that the world is sick unto death of blood-spilling. The world is seeking a way out, and I flatter myself with the belief that perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show that way out to the hungering world....I have, therefore, no hesitation whatsoever in inviting all the great nations of the earth to give their hearty co-operation to India in her mighty struggle. It must be a sight worth contemplating and treasuring that millions of people have given themselves to suffering without retaliation in order that they might vindicate the dignity and honour of the nation.

I WOULD far rather that India perished than that she won freedom at the sacrifice of truth.

WHEN I am gone India will be free, and not only India but the whole world will be free. I do not believe that the Americans or English are free. They will not be free so long as they have the power to hold the coloured nations in subjection. I know my purpose and I know what freedom is. English teachers taught me its meaning, and I must interpret that freedom according to what I see and have experienced.

FREEDOM'S battles are not fought without paying heavy prices. Just as man would not cherish the thought of living in a body other than his own, so do nations not like to live under other nations, however noble and great the latter may be. Englishmen who are undergoing tremendous sacrifices for preserving their freedom should not fail to appreciate India's travail.

No Cultural Isolation for Me

NOTHING CAN be further from my thought than that we should become exclusive or erect barriers. But I do respectfully contend, that an appreciation of other cultures can fitly follow, never precede, an appreciation and assimilation of our own. It is my firm opinion that no culture has treasures so rich as ours has. We have not known it, we have been made even to deprecate its study and depreciate its value. We have almost ceased to live it. An academic grasp without practice behind it is like an embalmed corpse, perhaps lovely to look at, but nothing to inspire or ennoble. My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own.

I AM no indiscriminate superstitious worshipper of all that goes under the name of 'ancient'. I never hesitate to demolish all that is evil or immoral, no matter how ancient it may be, but with this reservation. I must confess to you that I am an adorer of ancient institutions and it hurts me to think that people in their mad rush for everything modern despise all their ancient traditions and ignore them in their lives.

WHILST I have freely acknowledged my debt to Western culture, I can say that whatever service I have been able to render to the nation has been due *entirely* to the retention by me of Eastern culture to the extent it has been possible. I should have been thoroughly useless to the masses as an anglicized, denationalized being, knowing little of, caring less for and perhaps even despising their ways, habits, thoughts and aspirations.

I REGARD English as the language of international commerce and diplomacy, and therefore consider its knowledge on the part of some of us as essential. As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

It [Indian civilization] is a mingling of the cultures represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geographic and other environments in which the cultures have meet. Thus Islamic culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India, but it is itself influenced by the conditions of respective countries. Indian culture is, therefore, Indian. It is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Eastern. And everyone who calls himself or herself an Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its trustee and resist any attack upon it.

European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans, but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us, as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it. The incessant search for material comforts and their multiplication is such an evil; and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. Let us engrave on our hearts the motto of a Western philosopher, 'Plain living and high thinking'.

34. I am not Anti-British

I AM not anti-English; I am not anti-British; I am not anti-any Government; but I am anti-untruth, anti-humbug, and anti-injustice. So long as the Government spells injustice, it may regard me as its enemy, implacable enemy.

MY FAITH in human nature is irrepressible, and even under the circumstances of a most adverse character I have found Englishmen amenable to reason and persuasion, and as they always wish to appear to be just even when they are in reality unjust, it is easier to shame them than others into doing the right thing.

MY PERSONAL religion enables me to serve my countrymen without hurting Englishmen or for that matter anybody else. What I am not prepared to do to my blood-brother I would not do to an Englishman. I would not injure him to gain a kingdom. But I would withdraw co-operation from him if it became necessary, as I had withdrawn from my own brother (now deceased) when it became necessary. I serve the Empire by refusing to partake in its wrong.

NO ONE will accuse me of any anti-English tendency. Indeed, I pride myself on my discrimination. I have thankfully copied many things from them. Punctuality, reticence, public hygiene, independent thinking and exercise of judgement and several other things I owe to my association with them.

MY NATIONALISM is not so narrow that I should not feel for...[Englishmen's] distress or gloat over it. I do not want my country's happiness at the sacrifice of any other country's happiness.

THERE is no bitterness in me. I claim fellowship with the lowest of animals. Why not then with Englishmen with whom we have been bound, for good or ill, for over a century and amongst whom I claim some of my dearest friends? You [Englishmen] will find me an easy proposition, but if you will repel my advances, I shall go away, not in bitterness, but with a sense that I was not pure enough to find a lodgement in your hearts.

INDIA'S greatest glory will consist not in regarding Englishmen as her implacable enemies fit only to be turned out of India at the first available opportunity but in turning them into friends and partners in a new commonwealth of nations in the place of an Empire based upon exploitation of the weaker or undeveloped nations and races of the earth and therefore based upon force.

MY LOVE of the British is equal to that of my own people. I claim no merit for it, for I have equal love for all mankind without exception. It demands no reciprocity. I own no enemy on earth. That is my creed.

I HAVE never admitted any partiality for 'appeasement' which has become a term of reproach in the English language. Peace I want among all mankind, but I do not want peace at any cost, and certainly not by placating the aggressor or at the cost of honour. Anyone, therefore, who thinks that I am guilty of either vice will do great harm to the immediate purpose.

NO INDIAN has ever co-operated with the British Government more than I have for an unbroken period of twenty-nine years of public life in the face of circumstances that might well have turned any other man into a rebel.

I PUT my life in peril four times for the sake of the Empire; at the time of the Boer War, when I was in charge of the Ambulance corps whose work was mentioned in General Buller's dispatches; at the time of the Zulu Revolt in Natal, when I was in charge of a similar corps; at the time of the commencement of the late war, when I raised an ambulance corps, and as a result of the strenuous training had a severe attack of pleurisy; and lastly, in fulfilment of my promise to Lord Chelmsford at the war conference in Delhi, I threw myself in such an active recruiting campaign in Kaira District, involving long and trying marches, that I had an attack of dysentery which proved almost fatal. I did all this in the full belief that acts such as mine must gain for my country an equal status in the Empire.

THIS DISTRUST and misrepresentation about a man who loves the British people is an enigma to me. Since my deepest faith forbids resort to physical force, I am praying to God to discover to me such final way of corporate suffering of an extreme kind and to give me strength to undergo it. When, if required, such time comes I know it will penetrate every British home.

35. The Ashram Vows

From an address delivered in the Y.M.C.A. Auditorium, Madras, on 16 *February* 1916, *explaining the vows observed by the members of the Satyagrahashrama, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad.*

THIS is the maxim of life which I have accepted, namely, that no work done by any man, no matter how great he is, will really prosper unless he has religious backing.

But what is religion? I for one would answer: Not the religion which you will get after reading all the scriptures of the world; it is not really a grasp by the brain, but it is a heart-grasp. It is a thing which is not alien to us, but it is a thing which has to be evolved out of us. It is always within us: with some consciously so; with the others quite unconsciously. But it is always there; and whether we wake up this religious instinct in us through outside assistance or by inward growth, no matter how it is done, it has got to be done if we want to do anything in the right manner and anything that is going to persist.

Our scriptures have laid down certain rules as maxims of life and as axioms which we have to take for granted as self-demonstrated truths. Believing in these implicitly for all these long years and having actually endeavoured to reduce to practice these injunctions, I have deemed it necessary to seek the association of those who think with me, in founding this institution. The rules that have been drawn up and that have to be observed by every one who seeks to be a member of that Ashram are as follows:

The Vow of Truth

Not simply as we ordinarily understand it, not truth which merely answers the saying, 'Honesty is the best policy,' implying that if it is not the best policy we may depart from it. Here Truth as it is conceived means that we may have to rule our life by this law of Truth at any cost; and in order to satisfy the definition I have drawn upon the celebrated illustration of the life of Prahlad. For the sake of Truth he dared to oppose his own father; and he defended himself, not by paying his father back in his own coin. Rather, in defence of Truth as he knew it, he was prepared to die without caring to return the blows that he had received from his father, or from those who were charged with his father's instructions. Not only that, he would not in any way even parry the blows; on the contrary, with a smile on his lips, he underwent the innumerable tortures to which he was subjected, with the result that at last Truth rose triumphant. Not that he suffered the tortures because he knew that some day or other in his very lifetime he would be able to demonstrate the infallibility of the law of Truth. That fact was there; but if he had died in the midst of tortures he would still have adhered to Truth. That is the Truth which I would like to follow. In our Ashram we make it a rule that we must say 'No' when we mean No, regardless of consequences.

Then we come to

THE DOCTRINE OF AHIMSA

LITERALLY SPEAKING, *ahimsa* means 'non-killing'. But to me it has a world of meaning, and takes me into the realms much higher, infinitely higher. It really means that you may not offend anybody; you may not harbour an uncharitable thought, even in connexion with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. To one who follows this doctrine there is no room for an enemy. But there may be people who consider themselves to be his enemies. So it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connexion with such persons. If we return blow for blow we depart from the doctrine of *ahimsa*. But I go farther. If we resent a friend's action, or the so-called enemy's action, we fall short of this doctrine. But when I say that we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce: by the word 'resenting' I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy; or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by divine agency. If we harbour even this thought we depart from this doctrine of non-violence. Those who join the Ashram have literally to accept that meaning.

THIS DOES not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this very moment, if we are capable of doing so. But it is not a proposition in geometry; it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics—it is infinitely more difficult. Many of us have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. But if you want to follow out this doctrine you will have to do much more than burn the midnight oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, which you and I have to reach, if we want to understand what a religious life means.

A MAN who believes in the efficacy of this doctrine finds in the ultimate stage, when he is about to reach the goal, the whole world at his feet. If you express your love—*ahimsa*—in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return that love. Under this rule there is no room for organized assassinations, or for murders openly committed, or for any violence for the sake of your country or even for guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge. After all, that would be a poor defence of their honour. This doctrine tells us that we may guard the honour of those under our charge by delivering our own lives into the hands of the man who would commit the sacrilege. And that requires far greater courage than delivering of blows. If you do not retaliate, but stand your ground between your charge and the opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens? I give you my promise that the whole of his violence will be expended on you, and your friend will be left unscathed. Under this plan of life there is no conception of patriotism which justifies such wars as you witness today in Europe.

Then again there is

THE VOW OF CELIBACY

THOSE WHO want to perform national service, or to have a gleam of the real religious life, must lead a celibate life, whether married or unmarried. Marriage only brings a woman closer to man, and they become friends in a special sense, never to be parted either in this life or in the lives to come. But I do not think that, in our conception of marriage, our lusts should enter. Be that as it may, this is what is placed before those who come to the Ashram. I do not deal with it at any length.

Then we have, further,

THE VOW OF THE CONTROL OF THE PALATE

A MAN who wants to control his animal passions easily does so if he controls his palate. I fear this is one of the most difficult vows to follow. Unless we are prepared to rid ourselves of stimulating, heating, and exciting condiments, we shall certainly not be able to control the over-abundant, unnecessary, and exciting stimulation of the animal passions. If we do not do that, we are likely to abuse the sacred trust of our bodies that has been given us, and to become less than animals and brutes, eating, drinking, and indulging in passions which we share with animals. But have you ever seen a horse or cow indulging in the abuse of the palate as we do? Do you suppose that it is a sign of civilization, a sign of real life, that we should multiply our eatables so far that we do not even know where we are; and seek dishes until at last we have become absolutely mad and run after the newspaper sheets which give us advertisements about these dishes?

Then we have once more

THE VOW OF NON-THIEVING

I SUGGEST that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. It is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature produces enough for our wants from day to day; and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation. I am no Socialist, and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions; but I do say that personally those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody; I should then be departing from the rule of non-violence. If somebody else possesses more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got many millions of people who have to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a *chapatti* containing no fat in it and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these many millions are clothed and fed. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary privation in order that they may be nursed, fed, and clothed.

Then there is

THE VOW OF NON-POSSESSION

which follows as a matter of course.

Then I go to

THE VOW OF SWADESHI

THE vow of *swadeshi* is a necessary vow. We are departing from one of the sacred laws of our being when we leave our neighbourhood and go out somewhere else in order to satisfy our wants. If a man comes from Bombay and offers you wares, you are not justified in supporting the Bombay merchant so long as you have got a merchant at your very door, born and bred in Madras.

THIS IS my view of *swadeshi.* In your village you are bound to support your village barber to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village barber should reach the attainments of the barber from Madras you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *swadeshi.* So when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things; but believe me, when you have that frame of mind you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book *Pilgrim's Progress.* There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, if immediately you adopt this *swadeshi* life.

We have also

THE VOW OF FEARLESSNESS

I FOUND, through my wanderings in India, that my country is seized with a paralysing fear. We may not open our lips in public: we may only talk about our opinions secretly. We may do anything we like within the four walls of our house; but those things are not for public consumption.

If we had taken a vow of silence I would have nothing to say. I suggest to you that there is only One whom we have to fear, that is God. When we fear God, then we shall fear no man, however high-placed he may be; and if you want to follow the vow of Truth, then fearlessness is absolutely necessary. Before we can aspire to guide the destinies of India we shall have to adopt this habit of fearlessness.

And then we have also .

The Vow regarding the 'Untouchables'

There is an ineffaceable blot that Hinduism today carries with it. I have declined to believe that it has been handed down to us from immemorial times. I think that this miserable, wretched, enslaving spirit of 'untouchableness' must have come to us when we were at our lowest ebb. This evil has stuck to us and still remains with us. It is, to my mind, a curse that has come to us; and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think we are bound to consider that every affliction in this sacred land is a proper punishment for the indelible crime that we are committing. That any person should be considered untouchable because of his calling passes my comprehension; and you, the student world, who receive all this modern education, if you become a party to this crime, it were better that you received no education whatsoever.

Education through the Vernaculars

In Europe every cultured man learns not only his own language but also other languages.

In order to solve the problem of language in India we in this Ashram must make it a point to learn as many Indian vernaculars as possible. The trouble of learning these languages is nothing compared to that of mastering

English. How dare we rub off from our memory all the years of our infancy? But that is precisely what we do when we commence our higher life through the medium of a foreign tongue. This creates a breach for which we shall have to pay dearly. And you will see now the connexion between this education and untouchability—this persistence of the latter in spite of the spread of knowledge and education. Education enables us to see the horrible crime, but we are seized with fear, and, therefore, we cannot take this doctrine to our homes.

THE VOW OF KHADDAR

YOU MAY ASK, 'Why should we use our hands?' You may say, 'Manual work has got to be done by those who are illiterate. I can only occupy myself with reading literature and political essays'. We have to realize the dignity of labour. If a barber or shoe-maker attends a college he ought not to abandon his profession. I consider that such professions are just as good as the profession of medicine.

Last of all, when you have conformed to these rules you may come to

THE RELIGIOUS USE OF POLITICS

POLITICS, DIVORCED from religion, have absolutely no meaning. If the student world crowd the political platforms of this country, that is not necessarily a healthy sign of national growth; but this does not mean that you, in your student life, ought not to study politics. Politics are a part of our being; we ought to understand our national institutions. We may do this from our infancy. So in our Ashram every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light of religious faith; not a faith which merely appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First we want to realize our religious consciousness, and immediately we have done that, the whole department of life is open to us; and it should then be a sacred privilege of all, so that when young men grow to manhood they may do so properly equipped to battle with life. Today what happens is this: much of the political life is confined to the students, but immediately they cease to be students, they sink into oblivion, seeking miserable employments, knowing nothing about God, nothing of fresh air or bright light, or of real vigorous independence, such as comes out of obedience to those laws that I have placed before you on this occasion.

36. Obiter Dicta

Beggary

... It is demoralizing for men and women who have strong arms and legs and who are otherwise physically fit, to subsist on charity. They must find out some occupation for themselves. The idea is that no person, man or woman, who is physically fit should live on charity. There must be always enough occupation in a well-ordered state for all who are willing to work.

We cast a morsel at the beggar come to our door, and feel that we have earned some merit, but we thereby add to the number of beggars, aggravate the evil of beggary, encourage idleness and consequently promote irreligion. This does not mean that we should starve the really deserving beggar.

The Cow

THE cow is the purest type of sub-human life. She pleads before us on behalf of the whole of the sub-human species for justice to it at the hands of man, the first among all that lives. She seems to speak to us through her eyes: 'You are not appointed over us to kill us and eat our flesh or otherwise ill-treat us, but to be our friend and guardian.'

IT IS for me a poem of pity. I worship it and I shall defend its worship against the whole world.

Death

FOR MANY YEARS I have accorded intellectual assent to the proposition that death is only a big change in life and nothing more, and should be welcome whenever it arrives. I have deliberately made a supreme attempt to cast out from my heart all fear whatsoever including the fear of death. Still I remember occasions in my life when I have rejoiced at the thought of approaching death as one might rejoice at the prospect of meeting a long-lost friend. Thus man often remains weak notwithstanding all his efforts to be strong, and knowledge which stops at the head and does not penetrate into the heart is of but little use in the critical times of living experience. Then again the strength of the spirit within mostly evaporates when a person gets and accepts support from outside. A *satyagrahi* must always be on his guard against such temptations.

IF SOMEONE were to tell me, in order to avoid death, to retire to the Himalayas until the end of this year, I should not do so. For I know that death is inevitable, no matter what precautions man deludes himself with. I would like you to appreciate that I am one of the very few among the public men in India who know how to preserve their health. God knows what work to take out of me. He will not permit me to live a moment longer than He needs me for His work.

Diet

There is a great deal of truth in the saying that man becomes what he eats. The grosser the food the grosser the body.

I do not regard flesh-food as necessary for us at any stage and under any clime in which it is possible for human beings ordinarily to live. I hold flesh-food to be unsuited to our species. We err in copying the lower animal world, if we are superior to it.

Rightly or wrongly it is part of my religious conviction that man may not eat meat, eggs, and the like. There should be a limit even to the means of keeping ourselves alive. Even for life itself we may not do certain things.

I submit that scientists have not yet explored the hidden possibilities of the innumerable seeds, leaves and fruits for giving the fullest possible nutrition to mankind. For one thing the tremendous vested interests that have grown round the belief in animal food prevent the medical profession from approaching the question with complete detachment.

It is my firm conviction that man need take no milk at all, beyond the mother's milk that he takes as a baby. His diet should consist of nothing but sunbaked fruits and nuts. He can secure enough nourishment both for the tissues and the nerves from fruits like grapes and nuts like almonds. Restraint of the sexual and other passions becomes easy for a man who lives on such food.

The fast developing researches about vitamins and the possibilities of getting the most important of them directly from the sun bids fair to revolutionize many of the accepted theories and beliefs propounded by medical science about food.

THE UNLIMITED capacity of the plant world to sustain man at his highest is a region yet unexplored by modern medical science which through force of habit pins its faith on the shambles or at best on milk and its products. It is a duty which awaits eminent medical men whose tradition is vegetarian.

BY INSTINCT and upbringing I personally favour a purely vegetarian diet and have for years been experimenting in finding a suitable vegetarian combination. But there is no danger of my decrying milk until I have obtained overwhelming evidence in support of a milkless diet. It is one of the many inconsistencies of my life that whilst I am in my own person avoiding milk, I am conducting a model dairy which is already producing cow's milk that can successfully compete with any such milk produced in India in purity and fat content.

ABSTEMIOUSNESS from...meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, but it is by no means an end in itself. Many a man eating meat...but living in fear of God is nearer his salvation than a man religiously abstaining from meat and many other things but blaspheming God in every one of his acts.

ONE SHOULD eat not in order to please the palate but just to keep the body going. When each organ of sense subserves the body and through the body the soul, its specific relish disappears and then alone does it begin to function in the way nature intended it to do. Any number of experiments is too small and no sacrifice too great for attaining this symphony with nature.

Doctors

THE FACT remains that the doctors induce us to indulge, and the result is that we have become deprived of self-control and have become effeminate.

MY QUARREL with the medical profession in general is that it ignores the soul altogether and strains at nothing in seeking merely to repair such a fragile instrument as the body. Thus ignoring the soul, the profession puts men at its mercy and contributes to the diminution of human dignity and self-control. I note with thankfulness that in the West a school of thought is rising slowly but surely which takes count of the soul in trying to repair a diseased body and which, therefore, relies less on drugs and more on nature as a powerful healing agent.

WE WANT healers of souls rather than of bodies. The multiplicity of hospitals and medical men is no sign of true civilization. The less we and others pamper our bodies the better for us and the world.

INSTEAD OF using the body as a temple of God we use it as a vehicle for indulgences, and are not ashamed to run to medical men for help in our effort to increase them and abuse the earthly tabernacle.

I BELIEVE that man has little need to drug himself. 999 cases out of a thousand can be brought round by means of a well-regulated diet, water and earth treatment and similar household remedies.

Dress

I WEAR the national dress because it is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness, and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which for its simplicity, art and cheapness, is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would long ago have adopted the Indian costume. . . . I avoid shoes for sacred reasons, but I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

Intoxicating Drink

DRINK is more a disease than a vice. I know scores of men who would gladly leave off drink if they could. I know some who have asked that the temptation might be put away from them. In spite of the temptation having been put away at their instance, I have known them to steal drink. . . . Diseased persons have got to be helped against themselves.

Education

I HOLD that true education of the intellect can only come through a proper exercise and training of the bodily organs, e.g. hands, eyes, ears, nose, etc. In other words an intelligent use of the bodily organs in a child provides the best and quickest way of developing his intellect. But unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a poor lop-sided affair. By spiritual training I mean education of the heart. A proper and all-round development of the mind, therefore, can take place only when it proceeds *pari passu* with the education of the physical and spiritual faculties of the child. They constitute an indivisible whole. According to this theory, therefore, it would be a gross fallacy to suppose that they can be developed piecemeal or independently of one another.

I WOULD develop in the child his hands, his brain and his soul. The hands have almost atrophied. The soul has been altogether ignored.

I VALUE education in the different sciences. Our children cannot have too much of chemistry and physics.

IN MY scheme of things the hand will handle tools before it draws or traces the writing. The eyes will read the pictures of letters and words as they will know other things in life, the ears will catch the names and meanings of things and sentences. The whole training will be natural, responsive and, therefore, the quickest and the cheapest in the world.

THE EYES, the ears and the tongue come before the hand. Reading comes before writing and drawing before tracing the letters of the alphabet. If this natural method is followed, the understanding of the children will have much better opportunity of development than when it is under check by beginning the children's training with the alphabet.

LITERARY EDUCATION should follow the education of the hand—the one gift that visibly distinguishes man from the beast. It is a superstition to think that the fullest development of man is impossible without a knowledge of the art of reading and writing. That knowledge undoubtedly adds grace to life, but is in no way indispensable for man's moral, physical or material growth.

Greatness

SOLOMON found it difficult to pronounce on a man's happiness during his life; how much more difficult it must be to adjudge on a man's greatness? True greatness in the world is not found set upon a hill, for the vulgar crowd to see. On the contrary, my seventy years' experience has taught me that the truly great are often those of whom and of whose greatness the world knows nothing during their lifetime. God alone is judge of true greatness because He knows men's hearts.

My Gurus

I HAVE called Gokhale my political *guru*. But in spiritual matters, I am sorry to say, I have not yet found any one to whom I could completely surrender myself and whose opinion I could implicitly and unquestioningly accept as I could Gokhale's in politics. Perhaps I am not yet ripe for a spiritual *guru*, because I believe that the spiritual *guru* comes to you of himself, in fact seeks you out when you are ready for him.

BUT, WHILE thus the little throne within has remained vacant, next to the late Rajachandra, Tolstoy is one of the three moderns who have exerted the deepest spiritual influence on my life, the third being Ruskin. It was forty years back when I was passing through a severe crisis of scepticism and doubt that I came across his book *The Kingdom of God is Within You,* and was deeply impressed by it. I was at that time a believer in violence. Its reading cured me of my scepticism and made me a firm believer in *ahimsa*. What has appealed to me most in Tolstoy's life is that he practised what he preached and reckoned no cost too great in his pursuit of truth.

Happiness

HAPPINESS . . . means an enlightened realization of human dignity and a craving for human liberty which prizes itself above mere selfish satisfaction of personal comforts and material wants and would readily and joyfully sacrifice these for self-preservation.

It resides in each man himself and in the search of perfection and truth.

[*Question* : Are all men capable of seeking perfection?] —Yes, they have it in themselves.

Immortality

I believe that a healthy soul should inhabit a healthy body. To the extent, therefore, that the soul grows into health and freedom from passion, to that extent the body also grows into that state. This does not mean that a healthy body should be necessarily strong in flesh. A brave soul often inhabits a lean body. After a certain stage flesh diminishes in proportion to the growth of the soul. A perfectly healthy body may be very fleshless. A muscular body is often heir to many an ill. Even if it is apparently free from disease, it is not immune from infections, contagions and the like. A perfectly healthy body, on the contrary, is proof against all these. Incorruptible blood has the inherent virtue of resisting all infections. . . .

Such an equipoise is, indeed, difficult of attainment. Otherwise I should have reached it, because my soul is witness to the fact that I would spare no pains to attain to this perfect state. No outward obstacle can stand between me and that state. But it is not easy for all, at least for me, to efface past *samskaras*. But the delay has not in the least dismayed me. For I have a mental picture of that perfect state. I have even dim glimpses of it. The progress achieved fills me with hope, rather than despair. But even if I depart from this body before the hope is fulfilled, I would not think that I had failed. For I believe in rebirth as much as I believe in the existence of my present body. I, therefore, know that even a little effort is not wasted.

I BELIEVE in the immortality of the soul. I would like to give you the analogy of the ocean. The ocean is composed of drops of water, each drop is an entity and yet it is part of the whole, 'the one and the many'. In this ocean of life we are all little drops. My doctrine means that I must identify myself with life, with everything that lives, that I must share the majesty of life in the presence of God. The sum total of this life is God.

Journalism

. . . The sole aim of journalism should be service. The newspaper press is a great power, but just as an unchained torrent of water submerges whole country-sides and devastates crops, even so an uncontrolled pen serves but to destroy. If the control is from without, it proves more poisonous than want of control. It can be profitable only when exercised from within.

I HOLD that it is wrong to conduct newspapers by the aid of . . . immoral advertisements. I do believe that if advertisements should be taken at all there should be a rigid censorship instituted by newspaper proprietors and editors themselves and that only healthy advertisements should be taken.

Insurance

I HAD thought that life assurance implied fear and want of faith in God . . . In getting my life insured I had robbed my wife and children of their self-reliance. Why should they not be expected to take care of themselves? What happened to the families of the numberless poor in the world? Why should I not count myself as one of them? What reason had I to assume that death would claim me earlier than the others? After all the real protector [of my family] was neither I nor my brother but God Almighty.

Lawyers

THROUGHOUT MY career at the bar I never once departed from the strictest truth and honesty.

THE DUTY of a lawyer is always to place before the judges, and to help them to arrive at, the truth, never to prove the guilty as innocent.

Means & Ends

MEANS AND ENDS are convertible in my philosophy of life.

THEY SAY 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. Violent means will give violent *swaraj*. That would be a menace to the world and to India herself. France obtained her freedom by violent means. She is still paying dearly for her violence. . . . There is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed, the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception. Holding such a belief, I have been endeavouring to keep the country to means that are purely 'peaceful and legitimate'.

Medicine

I HAVE spoken against Western medicine, which I have called the concentrated essence of black magic. My view springs out of my non-violence, for my soul rebels against vivisection....Why should I, I said, have to practise cruelty on lower animals which I would never practise upon myself? But I do not despise all medical treatment. I know that we have to learn a lot from the West about safe maternity and the care of infants. Our children are born anyhow and most of our women are ignorant of the science of bringing up children. Here we can learn a good deal from the West.

But the West attaches an exaggerated importance to prolonging man's earthly existence. Until man's last moment on earth you go on drugging him even by injecting. That, I think, is inconsistent with the recklessness with which they will shed their lives in war.

Morality

TRUE MORALITY consists, not in following the beaten track, but in finding out the true path for ourselves and in fearlessly following it.

NO ACTION which is not voluntary can be called moral. So long as we act like machines, there can be no question of morality. If we want to call an action moral, it should have been done consciously and as a matter of duty.

MORAL AUTHORITY is never retained by any attempt to hold on to it. It comes without seeking and is retained without effort.

Nature's Visitations

I SHARE the belief with the whole world—civilized and uncivilized—that calamities [such as the Bihar earthquake] come to mankind as chastisement for their sins. When that conviction comes from the heart, people pray, repent and purify themselves. . . . I have but a limited knowledge of His purpose. Such calamities are not a mere caprice of the Deity or Nature. They obey fixed laws as surely as the planets move in obedience to laws governing these events and, therefore, call them calamities or disturbances.

THERE IS a divine purpose behind every physical calamity. That perfected science will one day be able to tell us beforehand when earthquakes will occur, as it tells us today of eclipses, is quite possible. It will be another triumph of the human mind. But such triumph even indefinitely multiplied can bring about no purification of self without which nothing is of any value.

I ASK those who appreciate the necessity of inward purification to join in the prayer that we may read the purpose of God behind such visitations, that they may humble us and prepare us to face our Maker whenever the call comes, and that we may be ever ready to share the sufferings of our fellows whosoever they may be.

THIS EARTHLY existence of ours is more brittle than the bangles that ladies wear. You can keep glass bangles for thousands of years if you treasure them in a chest and let them remain untouched. But this earthly existence is so fickle that it may be wiped out in the twinkling of an eye. Therefore, while we get breathing time, let us get rid of the distinctions of high and low, purify our hearts and be ready to face our Maker when an earthquake or some natural calamity or death in the ordinary course overtakes us.

Public Opinion

LEGISLATION IN advance of public opinion is often worse than useless. Non-cooperation is the quickest method of creating public opinion.

Secrecy

I HAVE come to regard secrecy as a sin. . . . If we realized the presence of God as witness to all we say and do, we would not have anything to conceal from anybody on earth. For we would not think unclean thoughts before our Maker, much less speak them. It is uncleanliness that seeks secrecy and darkness. The tendency of human nature is to hide dirt, we do not want to see or touch dirty things; we want to put them out of sight. And so must it be with our speech. I would suggest that we should avoid even thinking thoughts we would hide from the world.

ALL SINS are committed in secrecy. The moment we realize that God witnesses even our thoughts we shall be free.

Self-purification

IDENTIFICATION WITH everything that lives is impossible without self-purification; without self-purification the observance of the law of *ahimsa* must remain an empty dream; God can never be realized by one who is not pure of heart. Self-purification, therefore, must mean purification in all the walks of life. And purification being highly infectious, purification of oneself necessarily leads to the purification of one's surroundings.

BUT THE PATH of purification is hard and steep. To attain to perfect purity one has to become absolutely passion-free in thought, speech and action; to rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion. I know that I have not in me as yet that triple purity, in spite of constant ceaseless striving for it. That is why the world's praise fails to move me, indeed it very often stings me. To conquer the subtle passions seems to me to be harder far than the physical conquest of the world by the force of arms.

Sins & Sinners

I DO NOT seek redemption from the consequences of my sin; I seek to be redeemed from sin itself or rather from the very thought of sin. Until I have attained that end I shall be content to be restless.

A SINNER is equal to the saint in the eye of God. Both will have equal justice, and both an equal opportunity either to go forward or to go backward. Both are His children, His creation. A saint who considers himself superior to a sinner forfeits his sainthood and becomes worse than the sinner, who, unlike the proud saint, knows not what he is doing.

I HAVE made the frankest admission of my many sins. But I do not carry their burden on my shoulders. If I am journeying Godward, as I feel I am, it is safe with me. For I feel the warmth of the sunshine of His presence. My austerities, fastings and prayers are, I know, of no value, if I rely upon them for reforming me. But they have an inestimable value, if they represent, as I hope they do, the yearnings of a soul striving to lay his weary head in the lap of his Maker.

CONFESSION of error is like a broom that sweeps away dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

A CLEAN CONFESSION, combined with a promise never to commit the sin again, when offered before one who has the right to receive it, is the purest type of repentance.

A MAN who has broken with his past feels a different man. He will not feel it a shame to confess his past wrongs, for the simple reason that these wrongs do not touch him at all.

A PATIENT can ill afford to conceal his disease. If he does so he becomes his own enemy.

Slander

SLANDER and misrepresentation have always been the lot of public men. The way to overcome the opponent is by non-resistance. . . . My advice, therefore, generally speaking, is that one should take no notice of baseless and malicious imputations, but pity the calumniator and always hope and pray for his ultimate conversion.

It is enough if one is true to one's own self; one can then safely let the 'turbid streams of rumour flow'.

Smoking

I have a horror of smoking as of wines. Smoking I consider to be a vice. It deadens one's conscience and is often worse than drink, in that it acts imperceptibly. It is a habit which is difficult to get rid of when once it seizes hold of a person. It is an expensive vice. It fouls the breath, discolours the teeth and sometimes even causes cancer. It is an unclean habit.

Smoking is in a way a greater curse than drink, inasmuch as the victim does not realize its evil in time. It is not regarded as a sign of barbarism, it is even acclaimed by civilized people. I can only say, let those who can, give it up and set the example.

Spiritualism

I never receive communications from the spirits of the dead. I have no evidence warranting a disbelief in the possibility of such communications. But I do strongly disapprove of the practice of holding or attempting to hold such communications. They are often deceptive and are products of the imagination. The practice is harmful both to the medium and the spirits, assuming the possibility of such communications. It attracts and ties to the earth the spirit so invoked whereas its effort should be to detach itself from the earth, and rise higher. A spirit is not necessarily purer because it is disembodied. It takes with it most of the frailties to which it was liable when on earth. Information or advice, therefore, given by it need not be true or sound. That the spirit likes communications with those on earth is no matter for pleasure. On the contrary it should be weaned from such unlawful attachment. So much for the harm done to the spirits.

As for the medium, it is a matter of positive knowledge with me that all those within my experience have been deranged or weak-brained and disabled for practical work whilst they were holding, or thought they were holding, such communications. I can recall no friend of mine who having held such communications had benefitted in any way.

Adult Suffrage

. . . I AM wedded to adult suffrage, . . . Adult suffrage is necessary for more reasons than one, and one of the decisive reasons to me is that it enables me to satisfy all the reasonable aspirations, not only of the Mussalmans, but also of the so-called untouchables, of Christians, of labourers and all kinds of classes. I cannot possibly bear the idea that a man who has got character but no wealth or literacy should have no vote, or that a man who works honestly by the sweat of his brow day in and day out should not have the vote for the crime of being a poor man.

Chronology

1869	Oct.	2	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi born of a Bania (Vaishya or trading caste) family at Porbunder, Kathiawar, the youngest of the three sons of Karamchand *alias* Kaba Gandhi, Prime Minister successively in Porbunder, Rajkot and Vankaner States, and his fourth wife Putlibai.
1876			Goes to Rajkot with parents; attends primary school there till twelfth year; is betrothed to Kasturbai, daughter of Gokuldas Makanji, merchant.
1881			Enters High School at Rajkot.
1883			Marries Kasturbai.
1884-5			Takes to meat-eating in secret but abandons habit after about a year to avoid deceiving his parents.
1887			Passes Matriculation examination; joins Samaldas College at Bhavnagar (Kathiawar), but gives up studies at close of first term.
1888	Sept.		Sails for England, where he lives on vegetarian diet. Takes lessons in dancing and music for a short time, thinking they are necessary parts of a gentleman's equipment.
1889-90			Reads books on simple living and decides to reduce expenses by half; reads *Gita* for first time and is deeply impressed.
1891	June		Called to the Bar; sails for India.
1893	April		Leaves for South Africa, being engaged by a Muslim firm for legal work.
1894			Enrolled as Advocate of Supreme Court of Natal, being the first Indian to be so enrolled; reads religious literature including the Bible, the Koran and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You.*
	May		Founds Natal Indian Congress.
1896			Returns to India and starts agitation on behalf of South African Indians.
	Nov.		Sails for South Africa with wife and children.

1897	Jan.	13	Mobbed on landing at Durban by crowd excited by reports of his speeches in India on conditions of indentured Indian labour in South Africa.
1899			Raises Indians' Ambulance Corps in Boer War, which went into action and was mentioned in dispatches; awarded war medal.
1901			Returns to India.
1902			Called to South Africa to champion Indians' cause against anti-Asiatic legislation in Transvaal.
1903			Enrolled as Attorney of Supreme Court of Transvaal; founds Transvaal British Indian Association.
1904			Reads Ruskin's *Unto This Last*: founds *Indian Opinion* and Phœnix Settlement near Durban (Natal); organizes hospital during outbreak of plague in Johannesburg; writes series of articles in Gujarati on dietetics which are later translated into English and published under the title *Guide to Health.*
1906			Raises Indian Stretcher-bearer Corps in Zulu Rebellion, takes vow of *brahmacharya* for life.
	Sept.	11	Addresses mass meeting of Indians at Johannesburg which takes oath of passive resistance against newly promulgated Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.
	Oct.-Dec		In England on deputation to present Indians' case to Colonial Secretary.
1907			Organizes passive resistance movement; gives up legal practice to devote his life to public service.
1908	Jan.	10	Sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment for failure to leave Transvaal.
		30	Summoned to see General Smuts and released on reaching a compromise.
	Feb.	10	Nearly killed by Pathans who regarded the compromise, under which Indians were expected to give their finger-prints voluntarily, as a betrayal of Indian interests; refuses to prosecute his assailants.

	Aug.	16	Recommences passive resistance struggle on General Smuts' repudiation of the compromise.
	Oct.	15	Arrested and sentenced to 2 months' rigorous imprisonment.
1909	June		Leaves for England on deputation.
	Nov.		Sails for South Africa; writes *Hind Swaraj* during the journey.
1910	May	30	Founds Tolstoy Farm near Johannesburg (Transvaal).
1912			Gives up European dress and milk and restricts himself to diet of fresh and dried fruit; writes *Ethical Religion.*
1913			Goes on penitential fast for a week and one meal a day for 4 months for moral fall of two inmates of Farm.
	Nov.	6	Recommences *satyagraha* struggle on Union Government's repudiation of promise to repeal £3 poll-tax; leads march of *satyagrahis* numbering 2037 men, 127 women and 57 children into Transvaal; arrested and released on bail.
		8	Rearrested on fresh charge and released on bail.
		9	Rearrested and sentenced on Nov. 11 to 9 months' rigorous imprisonment and again on Nov. 14 to 3 months' imprisonment.
	Dec.	18	Released unconditionally; from time of release till settlement takes only one meal a day and puts on indentured labourer's dress.
1914	Jan.	21	Suspends *satyagraha,* following an agreement with General Smuts.
			Fourteen days' penetential fast for moral lapse of inmates of Farm.
	July		Sails for England.
	Aug.		Following outbreak of war raises Indian Ambulance Corps in London.
1915	Jan.		Returns to India; awarded Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal.
	May	25	Founds Satyagraha Ashram (later known as Sabarmati Ashram, after the name of the river) at Ahmedabad.

1915-16			Tours India and Burma, travelling 3rd class on the railways.
1917			Successfully agitates against indentured Indian emigration; idea of making use of spinning-wheel to produce handmade cloth on large scale takes root in his mind.
	April		Goes to Champaran (Bihar) to investigate conditions of labour in indigo plantations; arrested and later released; appointed by Bihar Government as member of committee set up to inquire into ryots' grievances.
1918	Jan.-March		Takes up cause of textile labourers of Ahmedabad and fasts to secure amicable settlement of dispute; initiates *satyagraha* in Kaira District (Bombay) to secure suspension of revenue assessment on failure of crops.
	April	27	Attends Viceroy's War Conference at Delhi and addresses it in Hindustani; subsequently tours Kaira District to raise recruits for army.
1919	Feb.	28	Signs Satyagraha Pledge to secure withdrawal of Rowlatt Bills.
	April	6	Inaugurates all-India *satyagraha* movement; countrywide *hartal.*
1919	Apr.	8-11	Arrested on way to Delhi for refusal to comply with order not to enter Punjab; escorted back to Bombay; outbreaks of violence in several towns.
		13	Jallianwala Bagh tragedy at Amritsar, troops firing on an unarmed crowd and killing over 400. Addresses public meeting near Sabarmati Ashram and declares three days' penitential fast.
		14	Confesses at Nadiad his 'Himalayan miscalculation' regarding *satyagraha;* martial law declared in Punjab.
		18	Suspends *satyagraha.*
	Sept.		Assumes editorship of the Gujarati monthly, *Navajivan,* later published weekly in Hindi also.
	Oct.		Assumes editorship of the English weekly, *Young India;* joins non-official committee of inquiry into official excesses in Punjab.

	Nov.	24	Presides over All-India Khilafat Conference at Delhi.
	Dec.		Advises acceptance of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms by Congress at Amritsar.
1920	Jan.		Leads deputation to Viceroy to press on British Government not to deprive Sultan of Turkey (who was also Khalifa of Muslims) of his suzerainty over Holy Places of Islam.
	Aug.	1	Addresses letter to Viceroy surrendering Kaiser-i-Hind Medal, Zulu War Medal and Boer War Medal.
	Sept.		Special session of Indian National Congress at Calcutta accepts his programme of non-cooperation to secure redress of Punjab and Khilafat wrongs.
	Nov.		Founds Gujarat Vidyapeeth at Ahmedabad.
	Dec.		Nagpur Congress session adopts his resolution declaring object of Congress to be attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.
1921	April		Launches programme of enlisting a crore of members in Congress, raising a crore of rupees for Tilak Swaraj Fund and setting up 20 lakhs of *charkas* in the country in furtherance of national constructive movement.
	Aug.		Leads campaign for complete boycott of foreign cloth and lights monster bonfire of foreign cloth in Bombay.
	Dec.		Invested with full dictatorial powers by Congress session at Ahmedabad.
1922	Feb.	1	Gives notice to Viceroy of intention to launch *satyagraha* campaign in Bardoli (Gujarat).
		5	Following Chauri Chaura (U.P.) tragedy, in which 21 police constables and one sub-inspector were burnt to death by a mob, fasts for five days and abandons plan of *satyagraha* movement.
1922	March	10	Arrested for sedition at Sabarmati and sentenced (March 18) to six years' imprisonment.
1924	Jan.-Feb.		Operated on for appendicitis in Sassoon Hospital, Poona (Jan. 12) and released on Feb. 5.
	April		Resumes editorship of *Young India* and *Navajivan.*

	Sept.	18	Begins 21 days' fast for Hindu-Muslim unity.
	Dec.		Presides over Congress session at Belgaum.
1925	Sept.		Founds All-India Spinners' Association.
	Nov.		Seven days' vicarious fast for misdeeds of Ashram inmates.
			Commences writing his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth.*
1927	Nov.		Visits Ceylon.
1928	Dec.		Moves resolution at Calcutta Congress session in favour of Independence if Dominion Status is not granted by end of 1929.
1929	Dec.		At his instance Lahore Congress session declares that *Swaraj* in Congress Creed shall mean *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence).
1930	Feb.		Appointed by A.I.C.C. as Congress Dictator to launch Civil Disobedience movement.
	March	2	Addresses letter to Viceroy intimating his intention to break Salt law if Congress demands are not conceded.
		12	Commences march to Dandi sea-beach, where he ceremoniously picks up salt (April 6).
	May	5	Arrested and imprisoned without trial; *hartal* all over India; over 100,000 are jailed before close of year.
1931	Jan.	26	Unconditionally released from prison.
	Feb.-March		Has series of talks with Viceroy resulting in Irwin-Gandhi Pact.
	Aug.	29	Sails for England as sole Congress delegate to Second Round Table Conference.
	Sept.-Dec.		Attends sessions of Conference.
	Dec.	5	Leaves England for India.
		28	Lands in Bombay.
1932	Jan.	4	Arrested and imprisoned without trial.
	Sept.	20	Commences 'fast unto death' in jail to secure abolition of separate electorates for Harijans in Communal Award.
		26	Breaks fast on Government of India's acceptance of his demand regarding Harijans.
1933	Feb.	11	Founds the weekly paper *Harijan,* published in English and Hindi.
	May	8	Commences at noon 21 days' fast for self-purification; released unconditionally at 9 p.m.

		9	Announces suspension of Civil Disobedience movement for six weeks and calls on the Government to withdraw its Ordinances.
		29	Breaks fast.
	July	26	Disbands Satyagraha Ashram.
		30	Informs Government of Bombay of his decision to march from Ahmedabad to Ras with 33 followers to revive Civil Disobedience movement.
		31	Arrested and imprisoned without trial.
	Aug.	4	Released and rearrested for breaking a restraint order.
		16	Goes on fast on being denied facilities to carry on anti-untouchability propaganda.
		23	Released unconditionally.
	Nov.	7	Commences Harijan-uplift tour.
1934	Sept.	17	Announces decision to retire from politics from 1 October to engage himself in development of village industries, Harijan service and education through basic crafts.
	Oct.	26	Inaugurates All-India Village Industries Association.
1936	April	30	Settles down at Sevagram, a village near Wardha in the Central Provinces, making it his headquarters.
1937	Oct.	22	Presides over Educational Conference at Wardha and outlines his scheme of education through basic crafts.
1939	March	3	Commences 'fast unto death' at Rajkot to secure Ruler's adherence to promise given to reform administration, and ends it on March 7 on Viceroy's intervention.
1940	July and Sept.		Meets Viceroy by invitation in connexion with war situation.
	Oct.		Sanctions individual civil disobedience; suspends *Harijan* and allied weeklies following official demand for precensorship of reports and writings in *Harijan* on the subject of *satyagraha*.
1941	Dec.	30	At his own request is relieved of his leadership of Congress by Working Committee.
1942	Jan.	18	Restarts *Harijan* and allied weeklies.

1942	March	27	Meets Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi; later declares Cripps proposals to be a 'post-dated cheque'.
	May		Appeals to British Government to quit India.
	Aug.	8	Addresses A.I.C.C. session in Bombay on implications of Quit India resolution.
		9	Arrested and interned in Aga Khan's Palace at Poona.
		15	Death of Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's personal secretary, from heart failure in Aga Khan's Palace.
	Aug.-Dec.		Corresponds with Viceroy and Government of India regarding disturbances.
1943	Feb.	10	Commences 21 days' fast, which he breaks on March 3.
1944	Feb.	22	Kasturba Gandhi dies in Aga Khan's Palace.
	May	6	Released unconditionally.
	Sept.	9-27	Carries on talks with Mr M. A. Jinnah regarding Pakistan.
	Oct.	2	Presentation of purse of 110 lakhs of rupees (£825,000) for Kasturba Memorial on occasion of 75th birthday.
1945	April	17	In a statement regarding the ensuing San Francisco Conference says that peace is impossible without equality and freedom of India. Also demands a just peace for Germany and Japan.
	Dec.	19	Lays foundation stone of C. F. Andrews' Memorial Hospital at Santiniketan.
1945-6	Dec. and Jan.		Tours Bengal and Assam.
1946	Jan. and Feb.		Tours Southern India for anti-untouchability and Hindustani propaganda.
	Feb.	10	Revives *Harijan* and allied group of weekly journals.
	Apr. and May		Participates in political talks with British Cabinet Mission at Delhi and Simla.
	June	10	Refuses to enthuse over Allied victory as not being 'victory of truth over falsehood'.
	July		Attends, in the capacity of an observer, Conference of party leaders summoned by Viceroy at Simla.

Glossary

Advaita	Hindu philosophy of Non-dualism.
agiari	Zoroastrian fire-temple.
ahimsa	non-violence.
amanitvam̄	humility.
aparigraha	non-possession.
Arjuna	the third of the PANDAVAS[1] famed for his valour.
ashram	abode of a spiritual teacher; a stage of life.
Atishudra	lit. one lower in caste than even a SHUDRA, an 'untouchable'.
bansi	bamboo flute; the flute of the divine cowherd Sri KRISHNA.
Bardoli	a village in Gujarat which came into prominence in connexion with the civil disobedience movement.
Bhagavadgita	Same as GITA.
Bhangi	scavenger; an 'untouchable' caste.
bhogabhumi	land of enjoyment.
Brahma	Hindu name of God the Creator.
brahmacharya	celibacy.
Brahman	member of the first (priestly) caste among Hindus.
Buddha	founder of Buddhism (*b.* about 563—*d.* about 483 B.C.), also known as Gautama, Siddhartha, Sakyamuni, etc.
Chaitanya	Bengali religious reformer of the 15th century A.D., who is worshipped by his followers as an incarnation of Sri Krishna.
chapatti	thin flat cakes made of flour.
charka	spinning-wheel.
Dandi March	march undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi from 12 March to 5 April, 1930 from his Sabarmati Ashram to the coastal village of Dandi, about 100 miles distant, with a view to break the Salt law by picking up natural salt from the sea-shore. His

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[1] Printing in SMALL CAPITALS indicates that reference should be made to that heading.

	arrest on arrival at Dandi was followed by a country-wide movement of civil disobedience.
Daridranarayan	God in the heart of the destitute.
Dayananda Sarasvati	Swami Dayananda Sarasvati, founder of the Arya Samaj, a reformist movement inaugurated in the latter half of the last century with a view to rid Hinduism of idolatry and to re-establish it on its original Vedic basis.
dharma	religion; law of one's being; righteousness.
dharmaja	produced by a sense of duty.
dharmayuddha	war fought for a righteous object by righteous means and methods.
Dheds	an 'untouchable' caste.
Dnyandev	boy poet-saint of Maharashtra of 13th century A.D., who wrote Dnyaneshwari, a Marathi commentary on *Gita;* his name is also spelt as Dnyaneshwar or Jnaneshwar.
Dublas	a Shudra caste of Gujarat.
Dyer	British General who was in command of the troops who fired on an unarmed assembly in Jallianwalla Bagh, Amritsar, on 13 April 1919, killing over four hundred people.
Gita	The 'Song Celestial', a Hindu scriptural work in Sanskrit verse, composed some centuries before the Christian era, in which Sri Krishna sums up the essence of Hindu religion and philosophy.
Gokhale	Gopal Krishna Gokhale (*d.* 1915), Indian politician, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and founder of the Servants of India Society, whom Gandhiji acknowledges as his political GURU.
Gopal	cowherd; a name of Sri Krishna, the divine cowherd.
guru	teacher; preceptor.
Hari	a Hindu name of God.
hartal	suspension of all work and closing of shops.
himsa	violence.
Hooghly	westernmost branch of the River Ganges on the banks of which Calcutta is situated.
Ishopanishad	one of the major UPANISHADS.

Jain	follower of Jainism, an ancient religion of India, one of the cardinal doctrines of which is non-violence.
Kabir	poet-saint of northern India, who lived in the 15th century A.D. and who, in his devotional songs, dwelt on the essential oneness of the Godhead and the harmony between Hinduism and Islam.
kamaja	born of lust.
karmabhumi	land of duty.
karmayogi	one who has devoted his life to the selfless service of others.
khaddar, khadi	hand-spun and hand-woven cloth.
kisan	peasant.
Krishna	divine hero and central figure of the epic, *Mahabharata,* who is worshipped by Hindus as the 8th incarnation of God [*see* also Gita and Mahabharata].
Kshatriya	member of the second (warrior) caste among Hindus.
lila	play.
Mahabharata	Hindu epic having for its theme the story of the Great War between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, princes of the Lunar Race who were cousins, rival claimants to the throne of Hastinapur (ancient Delhi).
Mahavir	24th Tirthankar or Prophet of Jainism (*b.* about 540—*d.* 468 B.C.), who is popularly regarded as its greatest promulgator. His original name was Vardhamana.
Manu	ancient Hindu law-giver.
maya	illusion; in Hindu philosophy Maya is the divine power which has created the cosmos.
Mira	Mirabai, Rajput princess of the 16th century A.D. who was a great devotee of Sri Krishna and who composed and sang innumerable songs in praise of this deity which have since become popular all over India.
moksha	liberation from earthly bondage.
muni	sage.
Nanak	founder of Sikhism (*b.* 1469—*d.* 1538 or 1539 A.D.)

Pandavas	five brothers, princes of the Lunar Race, who were the victors in the Mahabharata war.
Parameshwara	lit. Supreme Lord—one of the Hindu names of God.
Prahlad	son of Hiranyakashipu, a mythological demon-king. While the son was a devotee of Vishnu, the father hated the deity. With a view to compel his son to give up his devotion to Vishnu, the demon subjected his son to various terrible ordeals, to all of which the latter cheerfully submitted in the spirit of a true *satyagrahi.* Ultimately the demon was killed by the deity.
Pritam	Pritamdas, Gujarati poet of the 16th century A.D., who composed numerous devotional songs.
raj	kingdom.
Rajachandra	Jain saint and philosopher, contemporary of Gandhiji, whom the latter acknowledges as his spiritual *guru.* He died in 1900.
Ram, Rama	hero of the epic, *Ramayana,* who is regarded by Hindus as an ideal man and king, and worshipped as the 7th incarnation of God (*see* RAMAYANA).
Ramakrishna	Bengali saint (1836-86 A.D.) who was the *guru* of Swami Vivekananda and who taught the oneness of the Godhead and the basic harmony of all religions. The Ramakrishna Mission is named after him.
Ramarajya	lit. kingdom of Rama; an ideal system of government.
Ramayana	Hindu epic narrating the story of the abduction of Sita, wife of Rama, prince of Ayodhya, by Ravana, demon-king of Lanka (Ceylon), and her rescue after the conquest of Lanka by the armies led by Rama and the death of Ravana at Rama's hands.
Ramji Mandir	Rama's temple.
rishi	inspired sage; seer.
roti	bread.
samskaras	innate tendencies inherited from past life; religious customs.
Sanatanist	faithful follower of ancient Vedic religion.

sannyas	abandonment of all worldly ties with a view to fixing the mind on the Supreme Being.
sannyasi	one who has taken to *sannyas.*
sarvodaya	welfare of all.
satvika	tending to truth.
satya	truth.
satyagraha	recourse to truth-force or soul-force.
Satyanarayana	God of Truth; a popular Hindu God who is worshipped as a fulfiller of desires.
Shankara	Hindu philosopher of the 8th century A.D., who was one of the foremost exponents of Non-dualism.
Shudra	member of the fourth or menial caste among Hindus.
Sita	wife of Rama (*see* RAMA *and* RAMAYANA).
Surdas	blind Hindi poet of northern India who lived in the 16th century A.D. His poetical work, *Sursagar,* narrating the story of Krishna, is immensely popular with Hindi-speaking Hindus.
swadeshi	belonging to or made in one's own country.
Tilak	Bal Gangadhar Tilak (d. 1 August 1920), scholar and political leader of Maharashtra who suffered imprisonment thrice for sedition. He was author of *Orion, The Arctic, Home in the Vedas* and *Gitarahasya.*
Tukaram	poet-saint of Maharashtra who lived in the 17th century A.D. and who composed thousands of devotional songs.
Tulsidas	Hindi poet of northern India who lived in the 16th century A.D. and who composed, among other works, *Ramacharitamanasa,* (lit. The Holy Pool of the Life of Rama), retelling the epic story of the exploits of Rama. This work is held in the highest veneration by all Hindi-speaking Hindus.
Upanishads	ancient Hindu philosophical treatises, appended to the Vedas and regarded as equally authoritative as the Vedas.
Vaishya	member of the third (cultivator and mercantile) class among Hindus.
Valmiki	first Sanskrit poet and author of the Hindu epic, *Ramayana.*
Varnashrama	four-fold division of Hindu society.

Varna	..colour; one of the four divisions of Hindu society (i.e. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra) based on hereditary occupations.
Vedas	.. most ancient Hindu scriptures, composed of hymns to various deities. There are four collections of these hymns, known as *Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda.*
yoga	.. Hindu system of contemplation for effecting union of the human soul with the Supreme Being.
yogi	.. one who practises yoga.
zamindar	.. landholder.
Zend Avesta	.. Zoroastrian scriptures.
Zoroaster	.. founder of religious system known as Zoroastrianism. He is also known as Zarathustra or Zerdusht. The Parsis of India, who are emigrants from Persia, are followers of this prophet.

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SW	*Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi.* G. A. Natesan, Madras; 4th edition, 1933.
TI	*The Times of India,* daily newspaper published in Bombay.
WGC	*With Gandhiji in Ceylon,* by Mahadev Desai. S. Ganesan, Madras, 1928.
WWG	*A Week with Gandhi,* by Louis Fischer. Allen and Unwin, 1944.
YI	*Young India,* weekly journal, edited by Mahatma Gandhi since 8 October 1919, and published at Ahmedabad; ceased publication in February 1932.

Black Type indicates page numbers

1.—*YI,* 12 May 1920, p. 2; *YI,* 20 Jan. 1927, p. 21; ibid.; *YI,* 24 Aug. 1924, p. 267.

2.—*YI,* 1 Oct. 1925, p. 338; *H,* 3 Oct. 1936, p. 268; *YI,* 23 Feb. 1922, p. 112; *YI,* 6 May 1926, p. 164.

3.—*YI*, 10 Feb. 1927, p. 44; *YI*, 10 Mar. 1927, p. 80; *SET*; vol. i, p. 357; *YI*, 1 Oct. 1925, p. 338; *YI*, 7 May 1925, p. 163; *YI*, 12 Mar. 1930, p. 89.

4.—*YI*, 17 Mar. 1927, p. 82; *YI*, 17 Mar. 1927, p. 86; *EF*, p. 114; *H*, 9 Aug. 1942, p. 264; *YI*, 19 Mar. 1931, p. 43; *YI*, 27 May 1926, p. 193.

5.—*YI*, 13 June 1929, p. 193; *H*, 17 Nov. 1933, p. 6; *SET*, vol. ii, p. 593; *SET*, vol. ii, pp. 476-7; *H*, 10 Dec. 1938, p. 372; *YI*, 12 Mar. 1931, p. 32.

6.—*YI*, 16 Oct. 1930, p. 2; ibid; *YI*, 23 Sept. 1926, p. 336; *YI*, 6 May 1926, p. 164; *H*, 18 Apr. 1936, p. 77; *H*, 9 July 1938, p. 176.

7.—*SET*, vol. ii, pp. 106-7; *ICS*, p. 245.

8.—*YI*, 1 Nov. 1928, p. 361; *SET*, vol. i, p. 4; *YI*, 27 Oct. 1921, p. 342; *YI*, 25 Feb. 1926, p. 78; *YI*, 13 July 1921, p. 224; *YI*, 2 Mar. 1922, p. 135.

9.—*YI*, 26 June 1928, p. 130; *YI*, 12 June 1924, p. 197; *YI*, 11 Sept. 1924, p. 298; *YI*, 13 Nov. 1924, p. 378; *YI*, 26 Mar. 1925, p. 112.

10.—*YI*, May 1925, p. 176; *H*, 29 June 1934, p. 156; *BC*, 9 Aug. 1942; *YI*, 18 Aug. 1921, p. 258; *YI*, 27 Oct. 1921, p. 342; *YI*, 26 Jan. 1922, p. 49.

11.—*YI*, 2 Mar. 1922, p. 135; *H*, 11 Mar. 1939, p. 47; *YI*, 16 Feb. 1922, p. 102; *YI*, 23 June 1920, p. 3; *H*, 11 Mar. 1939, p. 44; *MGI*, p. 241; *YI*, 13 Aug. 1925, p. 279.

12.—*YI*, 13 Aug. 1925, p. 279; *YI*, 11 Oct. 1928, pp. 340-1; *H*, 2 Mar. 1934, p. 24; *YI*, 14 July 1920, p. 4.

13.—*YI*, 15 Sept. 1920, p. 6; *H*, 11 May 1935, p. 99; *YI*, 2 Mar. 1922, p. 140; *H*, 2 Nov. 1934, p. 303; *H*, 11 May 1935, p. 99; *YI*, 9 July 1931, p. 175; *H*, 17 Nov. 1933, p. 4.

14.—*H*, 25 July 1936, p. 185; *H*, 15 Apr. 1939, p. 86; ibid.; *YI*, 17 June 1926, p. 215; *YI*, 17 Nov. 1921, p. 368.

15.—*YI*, 17 Nov. 1921, p. 377; ibid.; *YI*, 3 July 1924, p. 218; *YI*, 4 Dec. 1924, p. 398.

16.—*YI*, 11 Dec. 1924, p. 406; *YI*, 26 Dec. 1924, p. 430; *H*, 22 Apr. 1939, p. 100; *H*. 11 Mar. 1939, p. 46; *YI*, 9 Apr. 1925, p. 126.

17.—*YI*, 8 Oct. 1925, p. 344; *YI*, 21 Apr. 1927, p. 128; *H*, 25 Jan. 1935, p. 399.

18.—*H*, 18 Feb. 1933, p. 4; *H*, 7 Sept. 1935, p. 234; *YI*, 4 Apr. 1929, p. 107; *H*, 23 July 1938, p. 193; *EF*, p. 132; *SW*, p. 531.

19.—*SW*, p. 531; *YI*, 13 Feb. 1930, p. 50; *BC*, 9 Aug. 1942.

20.—*YI,* 31 Dec. 1931, p. 428; *SET,* vol. i, p. 7.

21.—*SET,* vol. i, p. 9; ibid., p. 10.

22.—*SET,* vol. i, p. 11; *YI,* 18 Aug. 1927, p. 265; *YI,* 7 Feb. 1929, p. 42; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 591; *H,* 24 Nov. 1933, p. 6.

23.—*H,* 24 Nov. 1933, p. 6; *H,* 22 June 1935, p. 148; *YI,* 20 Aug. 1925, p. 285; *YI,* 21 Apr. 1927, p. 128; *YI,* 11 Aug. 1927, p. 250; *YI,* 3 Jan. 1929, p. 6.

24.—*YI,* 3 Jan. 1929, p. 6; *SL,* 5 Apr. 1919.

25.—*YI,* 11 Oct. 1928, p. 340; ibid.; ibid., ibid., p. 341; ibid.

26.—*H,* 13 June 1936, p. 140; *YI,* 25 May 1921, p. 161; ibid., p. 162.

27.—*YI,* 3 Apr. 1924, p. 109; *H,* 15 Apr. 1939, p. 87; *H,* 25 May 1935, p. 148; *EF,* p. 71; *YI,* 3 Oct. 1924, p. 109; *YI*; 5 Mar. 1925, p. 81.

28.—*YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 272; *YI,* 4 Aug. 1927, p. 247; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 62; *YI,* 3 Sept. 1931, p. 247; *SW,* p. 1069.

29.—*YI,* 31 Dec. 1931, pp. 427-8.

30.—*H,* 16 Feb. 1934, p. 4; ibid.; *H,* 1 June 1935, p. 123; *H,* 29 Aug. 1936, p. 226.

31.—*H,* 14 Nov. 1936, p. 316; *H,* 20 Feb. 1937, p. 9; *H,* 17 Apr. 1937, p. 87; *H,* 14 May 1938, p. 109.

32.—*H,* 8 Oct. 1938, p. 285; *H,* 10 Dec. 1938, p. 373. *H,* 24 Dec. 1938, p. 395; ibid.; *H.* 11 Mar. 1939, p. 34; *YI,* 3 Dec. 1925, p. 422; *H,* 18 Mar. 1933, p. 6.

33.—*H,* 17 Aug. 1934, p. 213; *YI,* 25 Sept. 1924, p. 313.

34.—*SET,* vol. i, p. 175; *SET,* vol. i, pp. 175-6; *YI,* 22 Sept. 1927, p. 321.

35.—*YI,* 15 Dec. 1927, p. 424; *YI,* 20 Dec. 1928, p. 420; ibid.; *YI,* 4 Apr. 1929, p. 111.

36.—*YI,* 23 Jan. 1930, p. 25; ibid.; ibid.; *YI,* 24 Sept. 1931, p. 274.

37.—*YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 274; *SET,* vol. i, p. 153; *H,* 24 June 1933, p. 5.

38.—*H,* 10 Dec. 1938, p. 373; ibid.; *L,* 25 Dec. 1916; *YI,* 4 Aug. 1920, p. 3; *EF,* p. 34.

39.—*YI,* 3 Dec. 1925, p. 422; *H,* 18 Mar. 1933, p. 8; *H,* 8 July 1933, p. 4.

40.—*H,* 6 May 1933, p. 4; *BC,* 18 Nov. 1932.

41.—*H,* 11 Mar. 1939, p. 46.

42.—*YI,* 13 Nov. 1924, p. 377; ibid.; ibid.

43.—*YI,* 13 Nov. 1924, p. 377; ibid.; ibid.; ibid., p. 378.

44.—*YI,* 20 Nov. 1924, p. 386; ibid.; *LG,* p. 210.

45.—*YI,* 14 Mar. 1929, p. 86; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 132; *YI,* 27 May 1926, p. 196; *H,* 14 Nov. 1936, p. 319; *YI,* 21 July 1921, p. 228; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 91; *YI,* 13 Feb. 1930, p. 52.

46.—*YI,* 16 Apr. 1931, p. 77; ibid.; *EF,* p. 132; ibid., p. 133; *H,* 29 Apr. 1933, p. 2; *H,* 28 Sept. 1934, p. 260.

47.—*H,* 8 Dec. 1933, p. 8; *SET,* vol. i, p. 346; *H,* 5 Sept. 1936, p. 237; ibid., p. 238; *H,* 6 July 1940, p. 185.

48.—*YI,* 11 Aug. 120, p. 3; ibid.; ibid.; *YI,* 11 Aug. 1920, p. 4.

49.—*YI,* 9 Feb. 1922, p. 85; *YI,* 23 Mar. 1922, p. 166; *YI,* 12 Feb. 1925, p. 60; *YI,* 2 July 1925, p. 232.

50.—*YI,* 15 Dec. 1927, p. 421; ibid.; *YI,* 20 Feb. 1930, p. 61; ibid.; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1930, p. 93.

51.—*H,* 14 Sept. 1934, p. 244; *H,* 12 Oct. 1935, p. 276; *H,* 28 Mar. 1936, p. 49; *H,* 18 June 1938, p. 152.

52.—*H,* 23 July 1938, p. 193; *H,* 12 Nov. 1938, p. 326; ibid., p. 327; *H,* 24 Dec. 1938, p. 393.

53.—*H,* 28 Jan. 1939, p. 443; *H,* 11 Feb. 1939, p. 8; *YI,* 4 Aug. 1920, p. 5; *YI,* 11 Aug. 1920, p. 3; *YI,* 29 May 1924, p. 176.

54.—*YI,* 29 May 1924, p. 176; *YI,* 20 Nov. 1924, p. 382; ibid.; *YI,* 20 Oct. 1921, p. 335.

55.—*YI,* 16 June 1927, p. 196; *H,* 28 Sept. 1934, p. 259; *YI,* 23 Jan. 1930, p. 27; *H,* 20 July 1935, p. 180.

56.—*H,* 20 July 1935, p. 180; ibid., p. 181; *H,* 17 Aug. 1935, p. 211.

57.—*H,* 10 Dec. 1938, p. 372; *TI,* 8 May 1941; *H,* 3 Dec 1938, p. 358.

58.—*YI,* 8 July 1926, p. 244; *YI,* 21 Oct. 1926, p. 364.

59.—*YI,* 18 Nov. 1926, p. 396; *YI,* 14 Apr. 1927, p. 121.

60.—*YI,* 7 July 1927, p. 222; ibid.; *YI,* 4 Oct. 1928, p. 331; *YI,* 1 Nov. 1928, p. 361.

61.—*YI,* 18 May 1921, p. 156; *H,* 9 Jan. 1937, p. 382; *YI,* 17 Dec. 1925, p. 440.

62.—*YI,* 30 Jan. 1937, p. 30; ibid.

63.—*YI,* 31 Dec. 1931, p. 426; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 229.

64.—*YI,* 13 Sept. 1928, p. 308; ibid.; ibid.; ibid.

66.—*YI,* 13 Sept. 1928, p. 308; *YI,* 7 Feb. 1929, p. 46; ibid.

67.—*H,* 15 Feb. 1942, p. 40; *YI,* 23 June 1919, p. 50; ibid., p. 51; *H.* 18 June 1938, p. 153.

68.—*H,* 24 Dec. 1938, p. 395.

69.—*BC,* 18 Apr. 1945; ibid.; *YI,* 8 Oct. 1925, p. 345; *YI,* 19 Nov. 1925, p. 397.

70.—*YI,* 30 Jan. 1931, p. 427; ibid.

71.—*H,* 12 Nov. 1938, p. 328.

72.—*H,* 12 Nov. 1938, p. 328; ibid.; *HS,* p. 127; *SSA,* p. 5.

73.—*SSA,* p. 246; *SW,* p. 465; *YI,* 10 Mar. 1920, p. 3; *YI,* 24 Mar. 1920, p. 4; *SL* 14, 4 May 1919.

74.—*YI,* 10 Nov. 1921, p. 362; *YI,* 15 Dec. 1921, p. 419; ibid.; *YI,* 5 Jan. 1922, p. 5; *YI,* 9 Feb. 1925, p. 61.

75.—*YI,* 10 Feb. 1925, p. 61; *YI,* 26 Feb. 1925, p. 73; *YI,* 19 Mar. 1925, p. 95; *YI,* 4 June 1925, p. 189; *YI,* 18 June 1925, p. 213; *YI,* 8 Oct. 1925, p. 365; *YI,* 23 Sept. 1926, p. 332; *YI,* 20 Oct. 1927, p. 353.

76.—*YI,* 3 Nov. 1927, p. 369; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1931, p. 30; *YI,* 19 Mar. 1931, p. 40; ibid., p. 41; *YI,* 30 Apr. 1931, p. 93; *YI,* 5 Nov. 1931, p. 341.

77.—*H,* 15 Apr. 1933, p. 8; *H,* 11 Mar. 1939, p. 44; *H,* 15 Apr. 1939, p. 86; *H,* 25 Mar. 1939, p. 64; *BC,* 9 Aug. 1942; *YI,* 16 Apr. 1931, p. 77.

78.—*H,* 18 Mar. 1939, p. 53; *H.* 25 Mar. 1939, p. 64; *SW,* p. 305; ibid., p. 165; ibid.

79.—*YI,* 12 May 1920, p. 3; *YI,* 22 Sept. 1927, p. 317; *YI,* 1 June 1921, p. 172; *YI,* 12 Sept. 1929, p. 300.

80.—*YI,* 4 June 1925, p. 193; *YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 272; ibid.; *YI,* 13 Aug. 1925, p. 277; *EF,* p. 84; *YI,* 19 Jan. 1921, p. 19; *YI,* 1 Oct. 1931, p. 281.

81.—*H,* 2 Mar. 1934, p. 23; *YI,* 18 June 1925, p. 214; *H,* 24 Dec. 1938, p. 393; ibid.

82.—*H,* 10 Feb. 1940, p. 445; *YI,* 5 May 1920, p. 7; *YI,* 1 Oct. 1931, p. 286.

83.—*YI,* 12 Nov. 1931, p. 355; *H,* 26 Sept. 1936, p. 260; ibid.

84.—*YI,* 8 Dec. 1927, p. 407; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 55; *SSA,* p. 289; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 463.

85.—*SET,* vol. ii, p. 446; *YI,* 2 Apr. 1931, p. 54; ibid.; ibid., p. 55; ibid., p. 60.

86.—*YI,* 19 Nov. 1931, p. 361; ibid.

87.—*YI,* 19 Nov. 1931, p. 361; ibid.; *H,* 12 Jan. 1934, p. 8; *H,* 26 Jan. 1934, p. 8; *H,* 30 May 1936, p. 126.

88.—*S,* 6 Mar. 1942; *YI,* 27 June 1929, p. 214; *BC,* 9 Aug. 1942; *YI,* 10 Mar. 1920, p. 5; *YI,* 4 Aug. 1920, p. 5; *YI,* 25 June 1925, p. 222; *YI,* 9 July 1925, p. 240; *SSA,* p. 360; *SW,* p. 350.

89.—*YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 91; *YI,* 11 Aug. 1927, p. 253; *H,* 15 Dec. 1933, p. 3; *YI,* 23 Sept. 1926, p. 334.

90.—*YI,* 1 Jan. 1925, p. 8; *YI,* 12 Jan. 1928, p. 11; *YI,* 2 Apr. 1931, p. 59; *YI,* 13 Aug. 1931, p. 215.

91.—*WGC,* p. 131; *H,* 12 Oct. 1935, p. 276; *H,* 30 Apr. 1938, p. 99; *H,* 6 Mar. 1937, p. 26; *YI,* 24 Sept. 1925, p. 331.

92.—*YI,* 14 Apr. 1927, p. 120; *H,* 26 Jan. 1934, p. 8; *H,* 1 Mar. 1935, p. 24; *YI,* 12 May 1920, p. 2.

93.—*YI,* 1 June 1921, p. 171; *YI,* 25 Aug. 1921, p. 267; *YI,* 23 Feb. 1922, p. 123.

94.—*YI,* 31 July 1924, p. 254; *YI,* 27 Nov. 1924, p. 391; *YI,* 2 July 1926, p. 308; *YI,* 22 Sept. 1927, p. 319.

95.—*YI,* 22 Dec. 1927, p. 425; ibid.; ibid., p. 426.

96.—*YI,* 22 Dec. 1927, p. 426; *YI,* 19 Jan. 1928, p. 22; ibid.

97.—H, 2 Feb. 1934, p. 8; *H,* 16 Feb. 1934, p. 5; *H,* 9 Mar. 1934, p. 29; *H,* 12 Sept. 1936, p. 242; *HS,* p. 63; ibid., p. 65; *MKG,* p. 7.

98.—*YI,* 14 Oct. 1926, p. 359; ibid.; *YI* 26 Sept. 1929, p. 316; *H,* 14 Mar. 1936, p. 36; *YI,* 19 Jan. 1921, p. 22; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 317.

99.—*YI,* 27 Aug. 1925, p. 293; *H,* 22 Dec. 1933, p. 3; *H,* 23 Dec. 1939, p. 387; *SW,* p. 329; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 318.

100.—*YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 318; *YI,* 21 Mar. 1929, p. 95; *H,* 26 Dec. 1936, p. 365; *H,* 30 Apr. 1938, p. 99.

101.—*YI,* 25 Aug. 1920, p. 2; *YI,* 13 Nov. 1930, p. 1; *YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 274; *H,* 24 Aug. 1934, p. 222.

102.—*YI,* 8 Sept. 1920, p. 2; *YI,* 31 July 1924, p. 254; *YI,* 31 Dec. 1931, p. 429; *H,* 6 Mar. 1937, p. 25.

103.—*H,* 7 Jan. 1939, p. 417; *MR,* Oct. 1941, p. 406; ibid.; ibid.

104.—*YI,* 24 Nov. 1927, p. 392; ibid.

105.—*YI,* 24 Nov. 1927, p. 393; ibid.

106.—*YI,* 20 Jan. 1927, p. 21; ibid.; *YI,* 29 Sept. 1921, p. 307; *YI,* 21 Mar. 1929, p. 95.

107.—*YI,* 4 May 1921, p. 144; *H,* 24 Dec. 1938, p. 393; *YI,* 5 Nov. 1931, p. 341; *YI,* 25 May 1921, p. 165.

108.—*YI,* 26 Nov. 1931, p. 372; *H,* 25 Mar. 1933, p. 3; *YI,* 4 June 1931, p. 129; ibid.

109.—*HU,* 19 Sept. 1945; ibid.; ibid.

110.—*YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 318; *YI,* 28 Aug. 1924, p. 284; *YI,* 26 Sept. 1929, p. 320.

111.—*H,* 13 Mar. 1937, p. 39; *YI,* 5 Nov. 1925, p. 378.

112.—*YI,* 4 Nov. 1926, p. 386; *H,* 11 Mar. 1933, p. 5; *H,* 18 Mar. 1933, p. 6.

113.—*YI,* 25 Sept. 1924, p. 319; *YI,* 3 Dec. 1925, p. 422; *MGI,* p. 287; *H,* 11 Feb. 1933, p. 2; *H,* 15 Apr. 1933, p. 4; *H,* 11 Mar, 1939, p. 46; *H,* 2 Nov. 1935, p. 299.

114.—*H,* 10 Dec. 1938, p. 373; *YI,* 17 Dec. 1925, p. 442; *YI,* 1 May 1924, p. 145; *H,* 24 Aug. 1934, p. 223; *H,* 11 Mar. 1939, p. 46; *H,* 9 Sept. 1933, p. 5.

115.—*YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 323; *YI,* 2 Sept. 1926, p. 308; *YI,* 11 Sept. 1930, p. 2; ibid.; ibid.

116.—*SW,* p. 303.

117.—*YI,* 2 Apr. 1931, p. 54; ibid., p. 58; *H,* 15 Oct. 1938, p. 291; *SW,* p. 330; ibid., p. 1066.

118.—*YI,* 23 Feb. 1921, p. 59; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 314; *YI,* 5 Feb. 1925, p. 48.

119.—*YI,* 30 Apr. 1925, p. 149; *YI,* 24 June 1926, p. 226; *YI,* 4 Sept. 1930, p. 1.

121.—*H,* 6 Mar. 1937, p. 27; *H,* 10 Dec. 1938, p. 371.

122.—*SW,* p. 353; *SET,* vol. i, p. 536; *YI,* 5 May 1927, p. 142; *YI,* 15 Sept. 1927, p. 313; *YI,* 4 Apr. 1929, p. 110; *YI,* 6 Apr. 1931, p. 108.

123.—*YI,* 16 Sept. 1926, p. 324; *YI,* 21 May 1931, p. 115; *H,* 22 Mar. 1942, p. 88; *WGC,* p. 84; *YI,* 27 Sept. 1928, p. 324; *YI,* 13 Oct. 1920, p. 3.

124.—*H,* 7 Sept. 1935, p. 234; *H,* 24 Apr. 1937, p. 83; *H,* 5 June 1937; p. 134; *SET,* vol. i, p. 65; *YI,* 2 Feb. 1928, p. 35.

125.—*H,* 23 July 1938, p. 193; ibid.; ibid.; *H,* 4 Nov. 1939, p. 326.

126.—*YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 88; *SET,* vol. i, p 473.

127.—*H,* 4 Apr. 1936, p. 61; *H,* 21 Mar. 1936, p. 60; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 88; *H,* 7 Sept. 1935, p. 234.

128.—*YI,* 19 Aug. 1926, p. 289; *YI,* 27 Sept. 1928, p. 324; *H,* 21 Jan. 1935, p. 410; *H,* 14 Sept. 1935, p. 244; *H,* 28 Mar. 1936, p. 53.

129.—*H,* 28 Mar. 1936, p. 53; ibid.; *H,* 21 Nov. 1936, p. 322; *YI,* 8 Dec. 1927, p. 406.

130.—*YI,* 21 July 1921, p. 229; *YI,* 15 Sept. 1921, p. 292; *YI,* 14 Jan. 1932, p. 19.

131.—*YI,* 10 Apr. 1930, p. 121; *YI,* 7 May 1931, p. 96; *H,* 25 Mar. 1933, p. 2; *YI,* 17 Oct. 1929, p. 340; *H,* 27 Feb. 1937, p. 19.

132.—*YI,* 28 May 1925, p. 187; *YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 325; ibid.; *YI,* 26 Mar. 1931, p. 53; *YI,* 15 Oct. 1931, p. 310.

133.—*H,* 29 June 1935, p. 156; ibid.; *H.* 2 Nov. 1935, p. 298.

134.—*H,* 2 Nov. 1935, p. 298; *YI,* 17 Apr. 1924, p. 130; *YI,* 30 Apr. 1931, p. 94; *H,* 30 Nov. 1934, p. 332.

135.—*WWG,* pp. 64-5; *H,* 26 July 1942, p. 238; *YI,* 8 Jan. 1925, p. 15.

136.—*YI,* 21 July 1921, p. 228; *H,* 8 May 1937, p. 99; ibid.; *YI,* 20 Aug. 1925, p. 285.

137.—*YI,* 7 Oct. 1926, p. 348; *YI,* 21 Nov. 1929, p. 384; *YI,* 26 Mar. 1931, p. 49.

138.—*YI,* 26 Mar. 1931, p. 49; ibid.; *YI,* 26 Nov. 1931, p. 368.

139.—*YI,* 26 Nov. 1931, p. 369; ibid.; *H,* 19 Oct. 1935, p. 285; *H,* 3 July 1937, p. 161.

140.—*H,* 7 June 1942, p. 184; *YI,* 19 Jan. 1921, p. 21; *YI,* 13 Nov. 1924, p. 378.

141.—*YI,* 13 Nov. 1924, p. 378; *YI,* 20 Nov. 1924, p. 386; *YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 273; *YI,* 17 Sept. 1925, p. 321.

142.—*YI,* 5 Jan. 1925, p. 377; *YI,* 12 Nov. 1931, p. 355; *H,* 2 Nov. 1934, p. 301; ibid.

143—*H,* 2 Nov. 1934, p. 302; ibid.; ibid.; *H,* 22 June 1935, p. 146.

144.—*H,* 29 Aug. 1936, p. 228; *H,* 16 Nov. 1934, p. 316; *H,* 30 Nov. 1935, p. 329; *H,* 16 May 1936, p. 111.

145.—*H,* 16 May 1936, p. 111; *HS,* p. 153; *H,* 14 Sept. 1935, p. 244.

146.—*YI,* 8 Sept. 1920, p. 237; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1920, p. 4; *YI,* 21 Jan. 1926, p. 31; *YI,* 7 Oct. 1926, p. 348.

147.—*YI,* 17 Mar. 1927, p. 85; *YI,* 26 Jan. 1921, p. 27; *YI,* 8 Dec. 1927, p. 414; ibid.

148.—*HS,* pp. 37-40; *YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 325; *YI,* 11 Dec. 1924, p. 406.

149.—*YI,* 15 Nov. 1928, p. 381; *H,* 13 Mar. 1937, p. 40.

150.—*H,* 28 Jan. 1939, p. 438; *H,* 13 Mar. 1937, p. 40; *H,* 20 Feb. 1937, p. 12; *H,* 2 Jan. 1937, p. 375.

151.—*H,* 20 Apr. 1940, p. 97; ibid.; ibid.

152.—*YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 325; *YI,* 27 Oct. 1921, p. 344; *YI,* 26 Dec. 1924, p. 421; *YI,* 28 July 1920, p. 5; *YI,* 17 Mar. 1927, p. 86; *YI,* 15 Nov. 1928, p. 381.

153.—*ICS,* p. 209; *YI,* 9 June 1920, p. 3; *YI,* 30 June 1920, p. 3.

154.—*YI,* 5 Jan. 1922, p. 5; *YI,* 9 Mar. 1922, p. 148; *YI,* 6 May 1929, p. 183; *YI,* 15 Oct. 1931, p. 305; *H,* 11 Jan. 1936, p. 380; *YI,* 30 July 1931, p. 199; *EF,* p. 102; *YI,* 8 Sept. 1920, p. 5; *YI,* 22 Sept. 1920, p. 3.

155.—*YI,* 23 Feb. 1921, p. 59; *BC,* 18 Sept. 1934; *H,* 22 Apr. 1939, p. 99; *H,* 11 Jan. 1936, p. 380; *H,* 12 Nov. 1938, p. 328.

156.—*BC,* 18 Sept. 1934; *H,* 15 Apr. 1939, p. 90; *YI,* 4 Aug. 1920, p. 3; *YI,* 8 Dec. 1921, p. 403; *YI,* 2 Mar. 1922, p. 129.

157.—*GIV,* p. 170; ibid.; *YI,* 16 Mar. 1921, p. 81; YI, 6 Apr. 1921, p. 108.

158.—*YI,* 3 Apr. 1924, p. 109; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 88; *YI,* 18 June 1925, p. 211.

159.—*YI,* 17 Sept. 1925, p. 320; ibid.; ibid.; ibid., p. 322.

160.—*YI,* 4 Apr. 1929, p. 107; *H,* 17 Nov. 1933, pp. 5-6; *YI,* 16 Apr. 1931, p. 79.

161.—*YI,* 17 July 1924, p. 236; *YI,* 26 Dec. 1924, p. 425; *YI,* 21 Mar. 1929, p. 93.

162.—*YI,* 25 Apr. 1929, p. 135; *YI,* 4 Dec. 1924, p. 421; *ER,* p. 55; ibid., p. 57.

163.—*YI,* 29 Jan. 1925, p. 40; ibid., p. 41; *YI,* 19 Mar. 1931, p. 38; *SW,* p. 416; *YI,* 22 Sept. 1920, p. 1.

164.—*YI,* 25 May 1921, p. 164; *YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 326; *YI,* 5 Jan. 1922, p. 4; *YI,* 12 June 1924, p. 195; *YI,* 26 June 1924, p. 210; *YI,* 21 May 1925, p. 178.

165.—*YI,* 6 Aug. 1925, p. 276; *YI,* 27 Aug. 1925, p. 297; ibid.; *YI,* 24 June 1926, p. 226; *YI,* 23 Jan. 1930, p. 26; *YI,* 1 May 1930, p. 149.

166.—*H,* 18 Jan. 1942, p. 4; *YI,* 16 Apr. 1931, p. 78.

167.—*YI,* 19 Sept. 1929, p. 305; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 88.

168.—*SW,* p. 405; *YI,* 21 Feb. 1929, p. 60; *YI,* 5 Feb. 1925, p. 45; *YI,* 1 June 1921, p. 173; *YI,* 22 June 1921, p. 109; *YI,* 13 Oct. 1921, p. 326.

169.—*YI,* 17 Sept. 1925, p. 321; *YI,* 17 Sept. 1925, p. 322; *YI,* 7 Oct. 1926, p. 348; *YI,* 11 Aug. 1927, p. 253; *YI,* 12 Jan. 1928, p. 13.

170.—*YI,* 4 July 1929, p. 218; *YI,* 26 Dec. 1929, p. 421; *YI,* 12 Mar. 1931, p. 31; *YI,* 10 Sept. 1931, p. 225.

171.—*YI,* 1 Oct. 1931, p. 278; ibid.; *ICS,* p. 209.

172.—*YI,* 1 Oct. 1931, p. 281; *BC,* 9 Aug. 1942; *H,* 16 Mar. 1940, p. 46; *YI,* 1 Sept. 1921, p. 277.

173.—*WGC,* p. 107; *YI,* 7 July 1928, p. 224; *YI,* 1 Sept. 1921, p. 277.

174.—*YI,* 30 Apr. 1931, p. 88; ibid.

175.—*SW,* p. 523; *YI,* 7 Jan. 1920, p. 2; *YI,* 5 May 1920, p. 4; *YI,* 6 Mar. 1930, p. 80; *YI,* 15 Oct. 1931, p. 309.

176.—*YI,* 15 Oct. 1931, p. 310; *YI,* 5 Jan. 1922, p. 4; *BC,* 9 Aug. 1942; ibid.; *YI,* 27 Oct. 1920, p. 1; ibid.

177.—*EF,* p. 50; *SW,* p. 377 and *MG,* pp. 351-9.

186.—*YI,* 12 Feb. 1925, p. 56; *YI,* 4 Nov. 1926, p. 384.

187.—*YI,* 26 June 1924, p. 214; *YI,* 1 Jan. 1925, p. 8; *SSA,* pp. 286-7; *H,* 15 Jan. 1938, p. 416.

188.—*H,* 5 Aug. 1933, p. 4; *YI,* 7 Oct. 1926, p. 317; *SET,* vol. i, p. 572; *YI,* 15 Aug. 1929, p. 265; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 45.

189.—*YI,* 3 Aug. 1929, p. 236; *YI,* 15 Aug. 1929, p. 265; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1921, p. 318; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 161.

190.—*HS,* p. 83; *YI,* 11 June 1925, p. 205; *YI,* 29 Sept. 1927, p. 327; *YI,* 8 Aug. 1929, p. 261; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 40; *P,* 4 July 1917.

191.—*YI,* 6 July 1921, p. 210; *H,* 8 Mar. 1937, p. 102.

192.—*YI,* 12 Mar. 1925, p. 86; ibid.; *H,* 28 Aug. 1937, p. 225; *H,* 31 Aug. 1938, p. 230; *H,* 8 Mar. 1935, p. 28.

193.—*YI,* 20 Sept. 1928, p. 319; ibid.; *YI,* 5 Mar. 1931, p. 1.

194.—*ICS,* p. 274; ibid.; *YI,* 5 June 1924, p. 187.

195.—*ICS,* p. 245; *SET,* vol. ii, p. 77; *YI,* 25 Mar. 1926, p. 114; *SET,* vol. ii, pp. 20-2.

196.—*YI,* 22 Dec. 1927, p. 427; ibid., p. 428; *YI,* 26 Dec. 1924, p. 435; *YI,* 17 July 1924, pp. 236-7; *H,* 3 July 1937, p. 165.

197.—*ER,* p. 36; ibid., p. 38; *YI,* 29 Jan. 1925, p. 40; *H,* 2 Feb. 1934, p. 1; *H,* 8 June 1935, p. 132.

198.—*H,* 8 June 1935, p. 132; *H,* 2 Feb. 1934, p. 5; *YI,* 29 June 1921, p. 208; *YI,* 22 Dec. 1920, p. 3.

199.—*YI,* 5 June 1924, p. 186, *SET,* vol. ii, p. 591; ibid., p. 592; *MGI,* p. 70; *H,* 14 Oct. 1933, p. 5.

200.—*H,* 18 Apr. 1936, p. 77; *YI,* 16 Feb. 1922, p. 102; *SET,* vol. i, p. 72; *YI,* 6 Oct. 1927, p. 340; *YI,* 2 Feb. 1928, p. 37; *YI,* 6 Dec. 1928, p. 405.

201.—*YI,* 6 Dec. 1928, p. 405; *YI,* 12 Jan. 1921, p. 11; *YI,* 4 Feb. 1926, p. 46; *YI,* 12 Sept. 1929, p. 302.

202.—*YI,* 8 Oct. 1931, p. 297.

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